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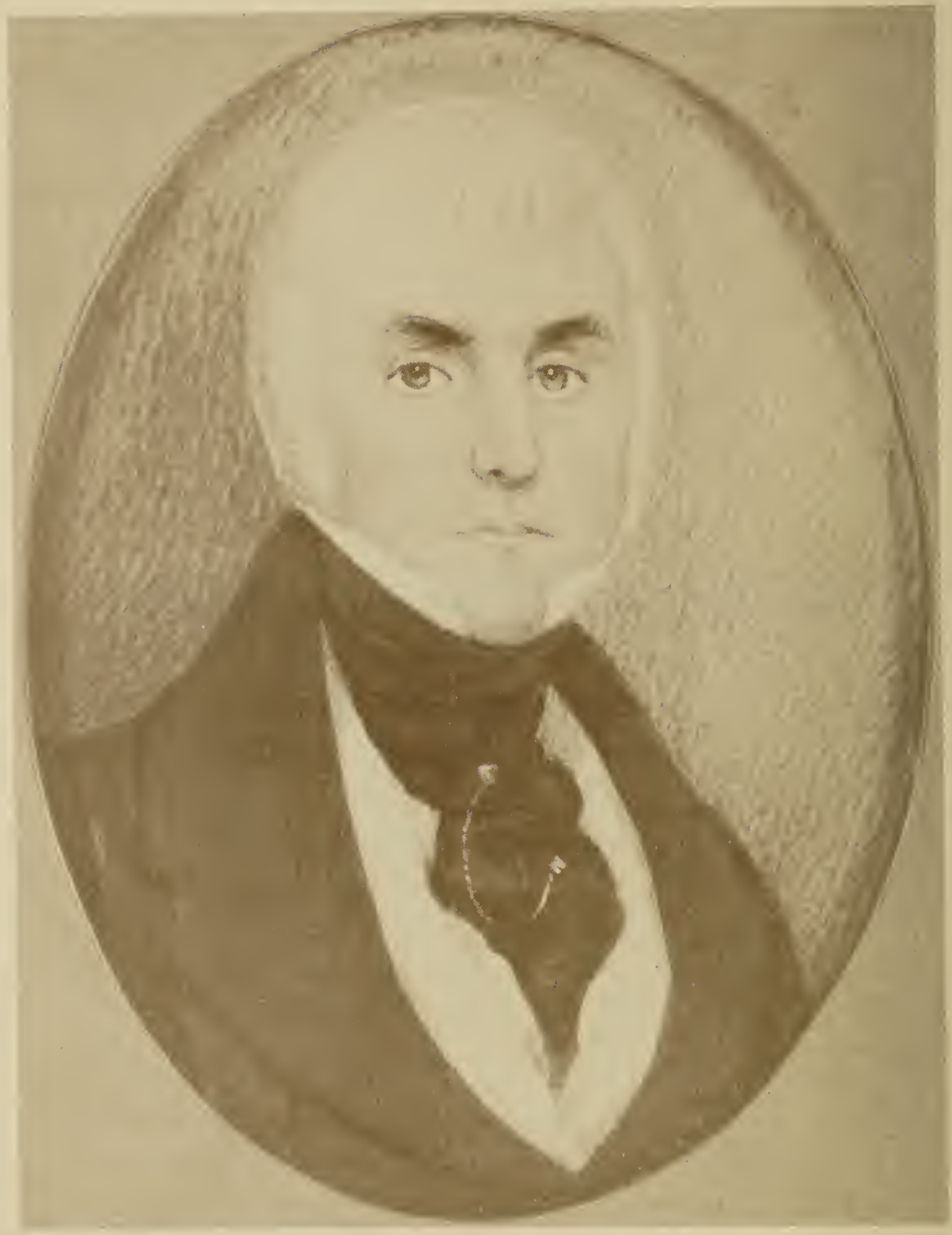

Doctor John McLoughlin
This is believed to be the earliest known portrait of him, when he was 55 years of age. Probably painted in Paris in the winter of 1838-39.
Courtesy of the McLoughlin Memorial Association.

The McLoughlin Empire and its Rulers

Doctor John McLoughlin
Doctor David McLoughlin
Marie Louise (Sister St. Henry)

An account of their personal lives,
and of their parents, relatives and children;
in Canada's Quebec Province, in Paris, France, and
in the West of the Hudson's Bay Company

with documents, letters, maps, and illustrations

by

BURT BROWN BARKER, LL.D.
Vice President Emeritus, University of Oregon

THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY
Glendale, California
1959

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Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 11

I. FAMILY REUNION AT MOUNT MURRAY . . . 15

II. DR. JOHN MCLOUGHLIN 23

III. TWO FRASERS – MALCOLM AND DR. SIMON . . . 55

IV. RULERS OF THE MCLOUGHLIN DOMAIN – DR. DAVID AND MARIE LOUISE 81

V. JOHN MCLOUGHLIN – THE SON 107

VI. ELIZA AND DAVID MCLOUGHLIN 127

APPENDICES 141

I. McLoughlin and Fraser Family Letters, 1796-1857 . 143

II. McLoughlin and Fraser Family Documents . . 277

III. Dr. John McLoughlin's Farms in Rivière-du-Loup . 311

IV. Relics of Dr. John McLoughlin 315

V. The Manor House of Mount Murray . . . 322

VI. Final Disposition of the Estate of Dr. John McLoughlin 324

VII. Two Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin . . . 327

VIII. The Ker Letters 335

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE 349

INDEX 351

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Illustrations

Dr. John McLoughlin, at 55 years of age . . *Frontispiece*

Coat of Arms of the Clan Fraser of Lovat . . . 9

McLoughlin Coat of Arms 9

Map of Mount Murray and Rivière-du-Loup . . . 14

Genealogical Chart 17

The Farm at Rivière-du-Loup, Birthplace of Dr. McLoughlin 27

Beaufort Castle, Beauly, Scotland 54

Manor House of the Seigniory of Mount Murray . 63

Cornerstone of the Mount Murray Manor House . . 65

Dr. Simon Fraser 75

Letters of Dr. David McLoughlin 90-91

Sister St. Henry (Marie Louise McLoughlin) . . 101

Ursuline Monastery, Quebec 102

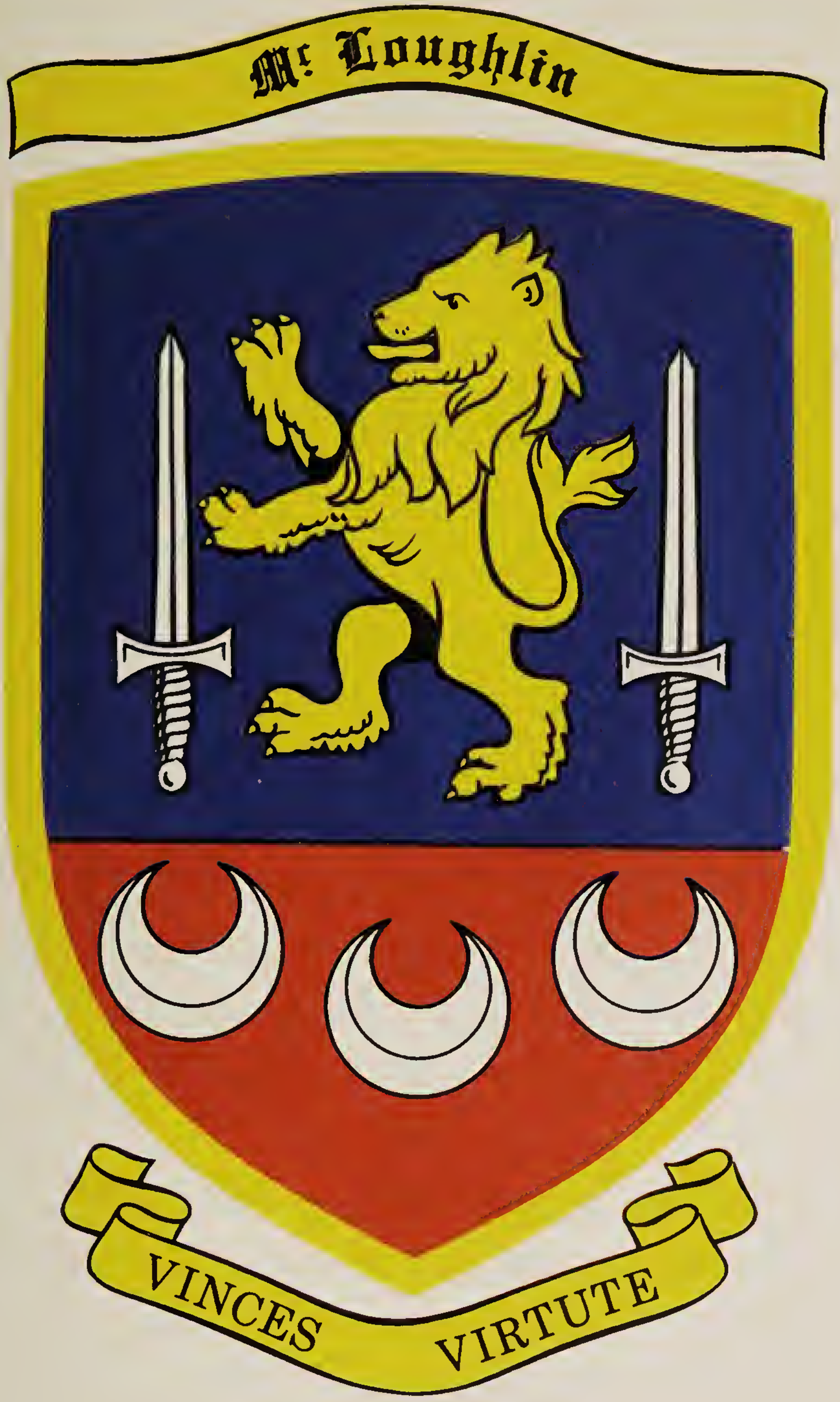
Community Room of the Ursuline Monastery . . 103

David McLoughlin, F. X. Matthieu, and Sidney Moss . 137

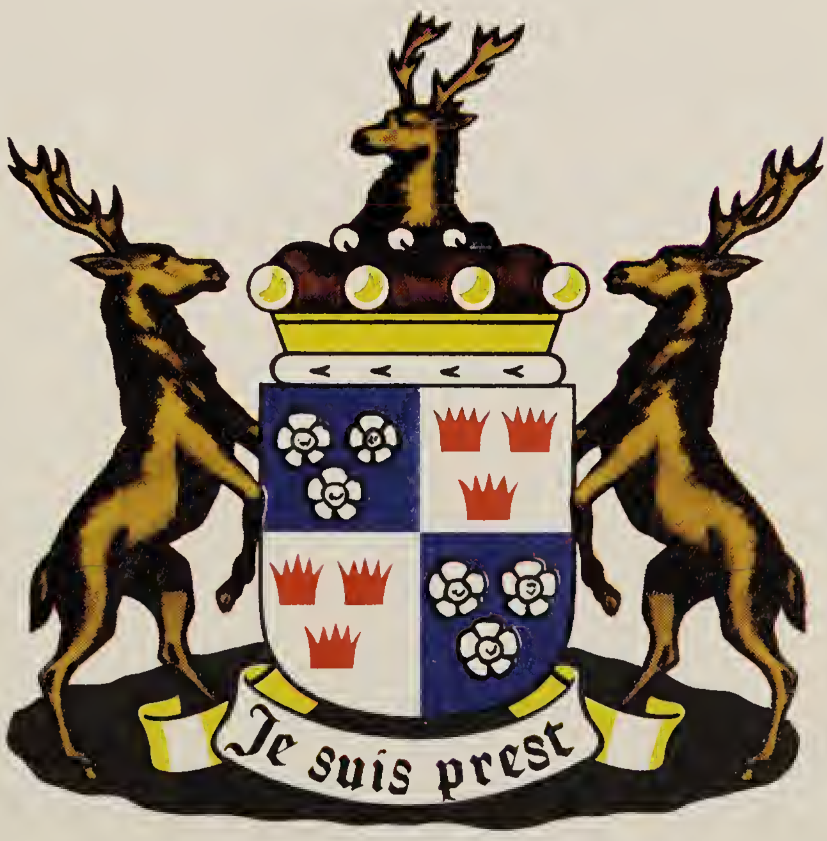
Letters and Documents, Plates 1 to 16 . . . 259-274

Dr. David McLoughlin's Return of Services . . 275-276

Map of the Rivière-du-Loup Farms 310


Mc Loughlin
VINCES VIRTUTE

McLoughlin
Coat of Arms


Je suis prest

Coat of Arms
of the
Clan Fraser of Lovat
Courtesy of Lord Fraser,
Beauly, Scotland

Acknowledgments

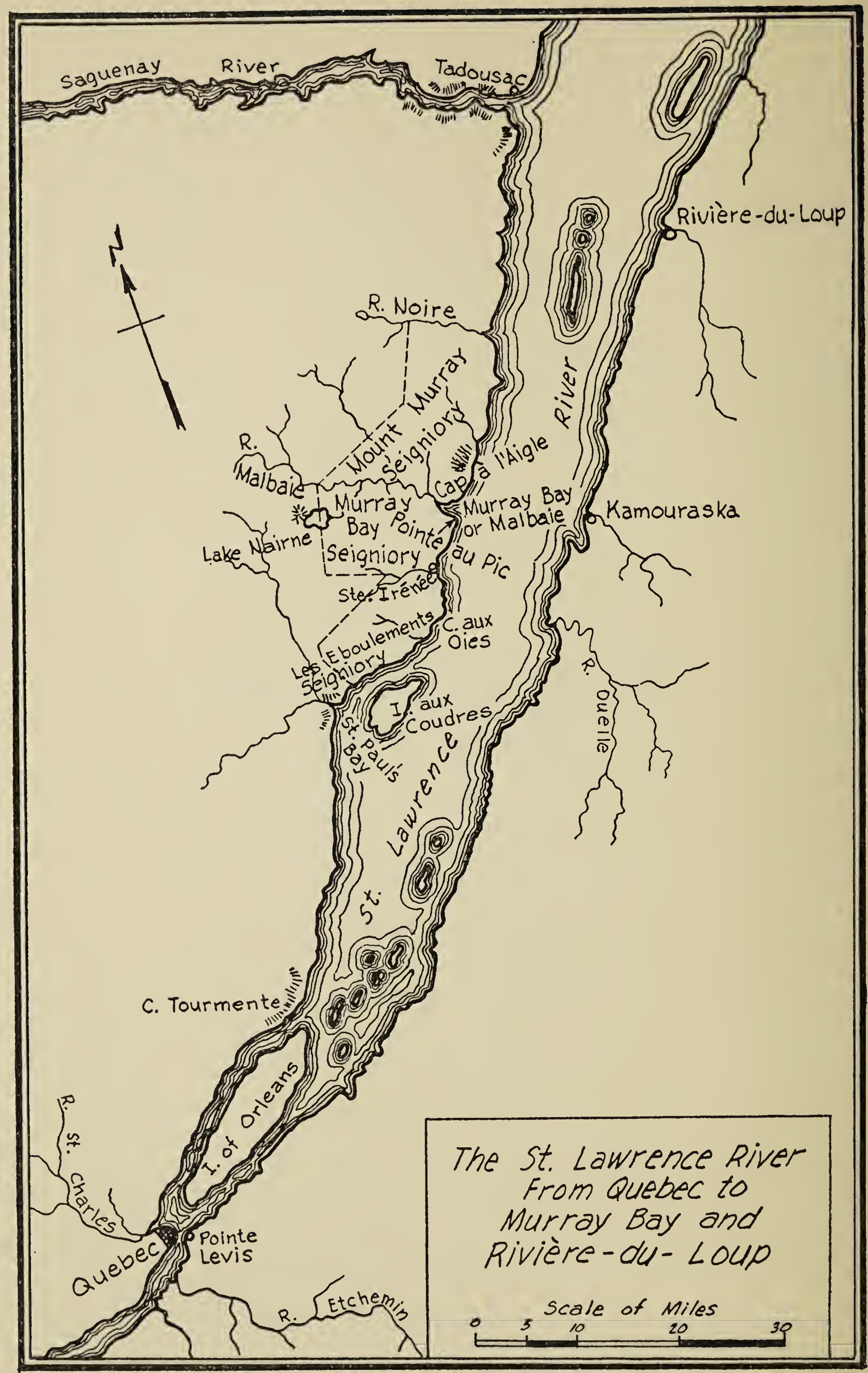
Dr. Dan E. Clark, Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Dr. George Hoffman, Dr. Clark P. Spurlock, Mr. Richard Montgomery, Mr. Lancaster Pollard, Mr. Alfred Powers, Mr. Thomas Vaughan, Dr. Gordon Wright, and Mrs. Nellie Pipes McArthur have examined the manuscript and made valuable suggestions. Special mention should be made of Dr. Wendell H. Stephenson and his assistant, Gunter Barth, who were unusually helpful in the final draft. Mrs. Aileen McNett has seen to the typing and lent other valuable assistance. Warmest thanks to all these persons for their help.

But even more specifically, as an officer of the McLoughlin Memorial Association and on behalf of the Association, I wish to thank Mrs. Alice Fraser Prevost for her generous gift of the letters which appear in this volume. They are prized by the Association as among its most precious possessions. Also, I wish to express my gratitude to the Association for its courtesy in allowing me to be the first to study these letters, and now to publish them for the first time.

BURT BROWN BARKER

Portland, Oregon

The McLoughlin Empire
and its Rulers


Saguenay River
Tadousac
Rivière-du-Loup
N
R. Noire
Mount Murray Seigniory
R. Malbaie
Cap à l'Aigle
River
Murray Bay Seigniory
Murray Bay or Malbaie
Kamouraska
Lake Nairne
Pointe au Pic
Ste. Irénée
C. aux Oies
Les Eboulements Seigniory
R. Ouelle
I. aux Coudres
St. Paul's Bay
St. Lawrence
C. Tourmente
I. of Orleans
R. St. Charles
Quebec
Pointe Levis
R. Etchemin
The St. Lawrence River From Quebec to Murray Bay and Rivière-du-Loup
Scale of Miles
0
5
10
20
30

Cap a l'Aigle was the Location of the Manor House of Mount Murray Seigniory

Courtesy of The Macmillan Company of Canada, Ltd. Redrawn from the map in George M. Wrong, *A Canadian Manor and its Seigneurs,* 1908.

I

Family Reunion at Mount Murray

Candles light the salon in Colonel Malcolm Fraser's manor house of Mount Murray at Malbaie. The red tongues of the fire radiate warmth. They defy the storm that sweeps the banks of the St. Lawrence River and howls around the frame building on its northern shore, at Cap à l'Aigle. Drifting snow veils the villages on the southern bank. Rivière-du-Loup, farther down stream, soon disappears behind a white curtain; Kamouraska, just across the river, promptly follows. A short, dark thread on an endless piece of linen, the road to Quebec winds through the long Canadian winter evening.

The Frasers and the McLoughlins have gathered in front of the fireplace. Dr. John McLoughlin sits on one end of the large half-circle, the colonel, Malcolm Fraser, his maternal grandfather, on the other. Dr. McLoughlin has Dr. Simon Fraser, his favorite uncle and the old seignior's son, at his side. Alexander, the colonel's oldest son, keeps his father company. The gap between the two Fraser brothers is filled by Dr. Fraser's son, John; by Dr. John McLoughlin's father and younger brother, respectively, John the cultivateur and Dr. David McLoughlin; and by Dr. John's children, John, David, Elisabeth, and Eloisa.

The imaginary family scene gains perspective and color through the letters and documents of the Frasers and the McLoughlins. Missing at the reunion is Marguerite Wadin McKay McLoughlin, the doctor's wife, who left no writing. Joseph McLoughlin, the doctor's oldest child, and his mother, a Chippewa Indian woman of Red River descent, also have not found their way into this group. Over the fireplace mantel hangs a portrait of Marie Louise, the older sister of Dr. John and Dr. David McLoughlin. As Mother Superior of the Ursulines in Quebec, she lived in a cloistered order. There is also on the wall a literary pen and ink sketch of Angélique Fraser, the mother of Dr. McLoughlin, drawn by Sister St. Thomas d'Aquin, a great-granddaughter of the seignior. It shows Angélique in her later years and gives unmistakable evidence of her former beauty.

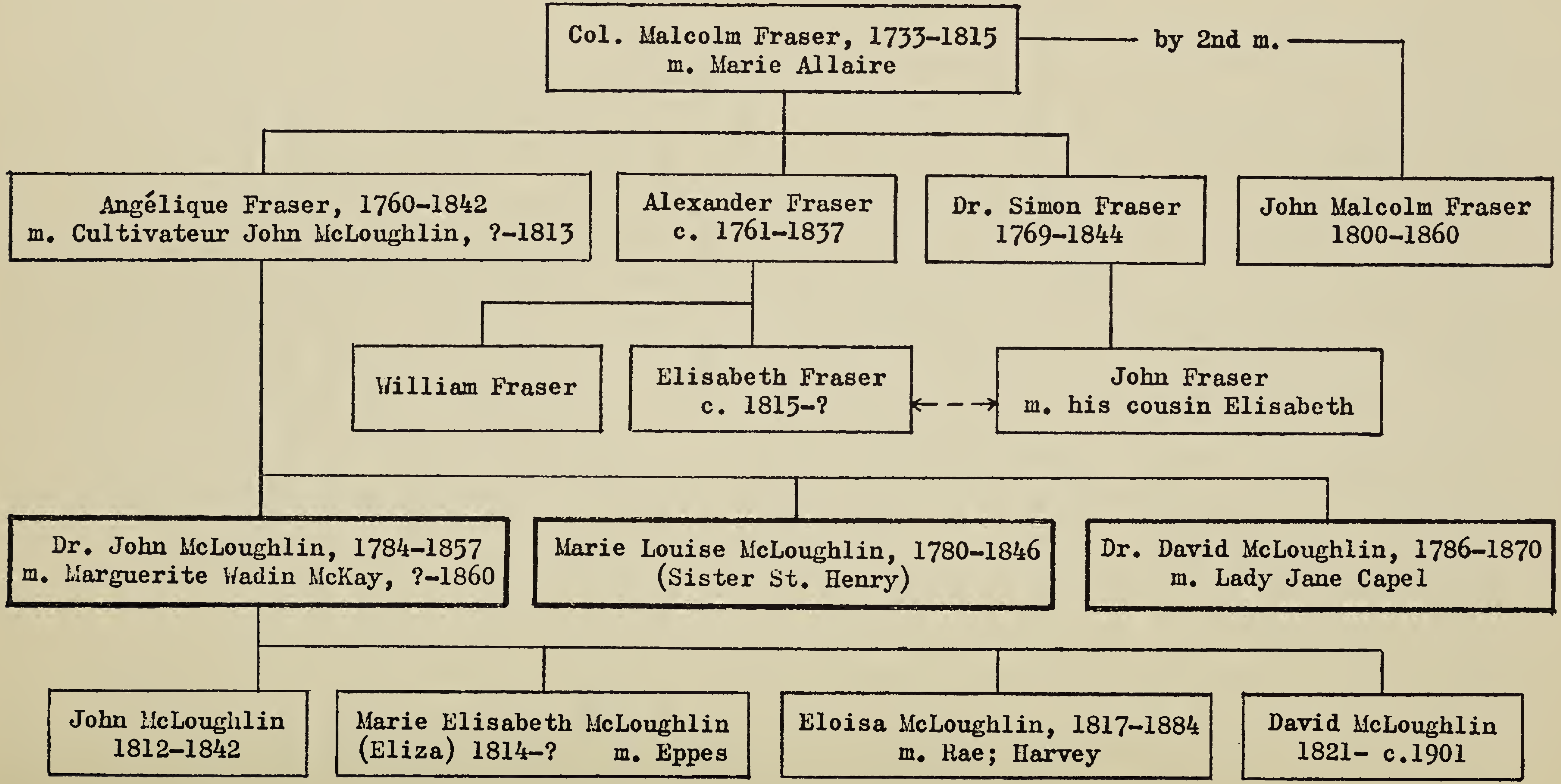
In this family group, the figure of Dr. John McLoughlin occupies the focal point. It differs from any previously painted. The best known one shows Chief Factor McLoughlin, the head of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Columbia district, writing the reports of his activities to the Governor and the Committee in London.[1] A recent study has thrown more light on some less elaborate angles of this familiar view. It pictures the Chief Factor at his desk in Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River supervising clerks, traders, and trappers in the twenty-four posts under his jurisdiction.[2] The present picture shows him as part of his family, as father, brother, and uncle, without the Olympian composure and the granite serenity that frequently have obscured the man from view.

A glance at the persons of this imaginary family reunion reveals their relationship. Sitting at the far end of the half-circle, Colonel Malcolm Fraser holds his will in his hands. He drew the document when he was seventy-nine years old. It was fourteen pages in length. The seignior wrote four identical originals to make sure that he would die testate.

---

[1] E[dwin]. E[rnest]. Rich (ed.), *McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters, First Series, 1825-38* (London, 1941), *Second Series, 1839-44* (London, 1943), *Third Series, 1844-46* (London, 1944), printed as *Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society,* IV, VI, VII.

[2] Burt Brown Barker (ed.), *Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, Written at Fort Vancouver 1829-1832* (Portland, 1948).


Col. Malcolm Fraser, 1733–1815
m. Marie Allaire
by 2nd m.
Angélique Fraser, 1760–1842
m. Cultivateur John McLoughlin, ?–1813
Alexander Fraser
c. 1761–1837
Dr. Simon Fraser
1769–1844
John Malcolm Fraser
1800–1860
William Fraser
Elisabeth Fraser
c. 1815–?
John Fraser
m. his cousin Elisabeth
Dr. John McLoughlin, 1784–1857
m. Marguerite Wadin McKay, ?–1860
Marie Louise McLoughlin, 1780–1846
(Sister St. Henry)
Dr. David McLoughlin, 1786–1870
m. Lady Jane Capel
John McLoughlin
1812–1842
Marie Elisabeth McLoughlin
(Eliza) 1814–? m. Eppes
Eloisa McLoughlin, 1817–1884
m. Rae; Harvey
David McLoughlin
1821– c.1901

A brief genealogical chart, showing only those persons concerned in the text of this volume.

Legal phrases and Latin terms, familiar to lawyers, buttress the remarkable instrument. From his chair the colonel can see the literary sketch of his daughter Angélique, but the old soldier seems to be looking at her husband, Cultivateur John McLoughlin. He probably tells his son-in-law that he made bequests in his will to all his children except Angélique. He probably mutters that as a Scot of the famous Fraser Highlanders he was sorely disappointed when his oldest daughter turned Catholic and married John McLoughlin, a *cultivateur* of the soil — Angélique, the daughter of a seignior. John, Angélique's spouse, hardly conceals his disappointment as he listens to his father-in-law's criticism of the marriage, contemplating, doubtless, the inevitable question as to what education the children shall receive; Protestant, as the colonel demands, or Catholic, as the parents wish.

Simon and Alexander, the colonel's sons, sit apart. Evidently, they are not on friendly terms. Simon seems to explain to Dr. McLoughlin that the doctor's younger brother David has been extravagant as a student of medicine at the University of Edinburgh. He emphasizes that he had to pay the drafts which David drew on his name. He points out that his brother Alexander refused to help him meet them, although Alexander had promised their father that he would contribute £ 100 to David's expense. The older brother resents this accusation and argues that he told the colonel he would make his contribution when the matter was brought to his attention in Rivière-du-Loup.

Dr. David McLoughlin pretends to be innocent of the fact that his medical studies in Scotland caused the irreconcilable breach between his uncles. Yet he once took the opportunity to remind Alexander that he had taken offense when asked to contribute to his, David's, expenses before he left for the university. Dr. David also made it clear that his uncles' failure caused him to be held in Edinburgh one year after his graduation and brought him close to the debtor's prison. One imagines that Dr. John McLoughlin contended that he did not know who was to blame, but he criticized the relatives who sent David to Edinburgh without sufficient funds. He defends himself by showing that he made only £ 20 a year at that time and that as soon as his salary had been raised to £ 200 a year, he immediately drew £ 100 in advance to be forwarded to David.

John McLoughlin, the older son of Dr. McLoughlin, has much to explain. One suspects he is relating his experience in Paris where he studied medicine under the tutelage of his uncle, Dr. David McLoughlin. He might be describing a celebration of the anniversary of the July Revolution, that he witnessed, or a royal ball, that he attended in Dr. David's company, at which King Louis Philippe addressed the young man. His hopes to be received at court in an audience reflect the social eminence of his uncle. Undoubtedly he passes lightly over the reason for his sudden return from the French capital. He admits that he led a gay life in Montreal after his uncle David sent him back to Canada, where he failed to be admitted to McGill University for a continuation of his medical studies. He appeared quite ill at ease, when, one suspects, his uncle Simon had asked him also about his experience with "General" James Dickson and the disaster of the filibustering expedition to the Red River settlement.

David McLoughlin, John's younger brother, appears gay and happy. He probably relates his impressions of England and his attempts to enter the Indian service. He might describe how his father interfered and brought him home to Fort Vancouver, and how Governor George Simpson then apprenticed him to the Hudson's Bay Company.

Eliza, as David familiarly calls his sister Marie Elisabeth, the elder daughter of Dr. McLoughlin, tells of her education by her aunt, Sister St. Henry, in the convent of the Quebec Ursulines where Marie Louise was Mother Superior. She probably speaks of her marriage to William Randolph Eppes, the British army officer who died in Jamaica in 1849. In detail she describes her return to Quebec with her six children and mentions the bounty which she received from her father. One wonders if Eliza told of selling her father's farms in Rivière-du-Loup against his instructions, and how her father repudiated the sale, much to her chagrin. Dr. John McLoughlin informed her in the end that he purposed to will her a life estate in the farms on the St. Lawrence River, with a remainder over to her children.

The intimate scene comes to life through one hundred and eighteen family letters of the McLoughlins and Frasers. They were given to the McLoughlin Memorial Association of Oregon City, Oregon, by Mrs. Alice Fraser Prevost, of Rivière-du-Loup and Montreal, Canada. She, like Dr. John McLoughlin, is a Fraser. She claims descent through the male line, while Dr. McLoughlin springs from the female side. Both descend from Seignior Malcolm Fraser of Malbaie. The maternal grandfather of Dr. John McLoughlin is the paternal great-grandfather of Mrs. Alice Prevost.

The letters were found in an old secretary in the manor house of the seigniory of Rivière-du-Loup, in the village of the same name, which Colonel Malcolm Fraser purchased for his son Alexander. The seignior's oldest son had built the manor house and owned the secretary. Written between 1796 and 1857, fifty-five of the epistles were addressed to Dr. Simon Fraser of Terrebonne, near Montreal, who preserved them. His son John married a cousin, Elisabeth Fraser, the daughter of Alexander. With the paternal estate, John inherited the family letters at Dr. Fraser's death. When John died, his widow gave the manuscripts to her brother William, the son of Alexander. After William inherited the seigniory of Rivière-du-Loup, he placed the letters in the secretary, and there his daughter, Mrs. Alice Prevost, discovered them when she succeeded to the seigniory.

After three generations the family letters reach a broader audience, through the courtesy and generosity of Mrs. Prevost. They are the first detailed documents which deal with the family of Dr. McLoughlin. The information which they reveal has stimulated further research and has brought to light more details about the Frasers and the McLoughlins. The result represents the first effort to work these items into a pattern that shows the life of the family.

Each leading member appears under a separate heading. The same events often affect different members of the family, resulting in a certain amount of unavoidable repetition. This reiteration has been held to the minimum necessary to relate as complete a story as possible for each family member.

No attempt has been made to rewrite the biography of Dr. McLoughlin, but the previously known threads have been interwoven with the new discoveries, when necessary for the unity of the story. The appendices contain the one hundred and eighteen letters[3] and other documents. Forty-eight of these letters have already been printed in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*.[4] The majority of seventy letters is published here for the first time. Letters and related documents are presented unchanged, save for the material translated from the French. In two instances, where a word is repeated, the adverb "sic" is inserted in square brackets to indicate that the original is followed.

---

[3] Additionally, as separate appendix (VII), two letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, not concerned with family affairs, are published, one of which has never been printed before.

[4] Jane Lewis Chapin (ed.), "Letters of John McLoughlin, 1805-26," *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* Dec. 1935 (Portland), XXXVI, pp. 320-337, "McLoughlin Letters, 1827-49," *ibid.,* Mar. 1936, XXXVII, pp. 45-75.

Eighteen persons are involved in the correspondence. The letters reveal four Johns and two Davids in the McLoughlin family. In order to keep each in his family groove, Chief Factor McLoughlin will be designated as Dr. John McLoughlin. His son will be John McLoughlin. The doctor's father will be referred to as Cultivateur John McLoughlin, as some letters do, while the fourth John will pass as Grandfather McLoughlin. The doctor's degree serves as distinction between Dr. David McLoughlin and David McLoughlin, the son of Dr. John.[5]

The letters and documents recreate the image of the Frasers and the McLoughlins who found their way to the imaginary family reunion. Three mighty rivers cross their world. The St. Lawrence forms the core of their family domain. However far the members of the family spread over land and sea, the center of the family always remained on the stretch of land along the river between Quebec and Rivière-du-Loup. Marie Louise McLoughlin became the living symbol of that inner unity and spiritual power, as Mother Superior of the Quebec Ursulines. To the cartographers of the Frasers and the McLoughlins, Columbia and Seine appear as tributary of the St. Lawrence. On the banks of these streams, the brilliant and the energetic rulers of the family attained, and then lost, their power. The February Revolution of 1848 ended Dr. David McLoughlin's medical practice in Paris. Three years earlier Dr. John McLoughlin had quarreled himself out of his commanding position in the Columbia district of the Hudson's Bay Company.

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[5] Refer to the brief genealogical table at page 17.

II

Dr. John McLoughlin

The Honorable Company's Empire of the Columbia formed the westernmost outpost of the family. For twenty-one years Dr. John McLoughlin, at Fort Vancouver, ruled the Pacific Northwest. The name of the Chief Factor in the Columbia district was synonymous with the name of the Hudson's Bay Company in the region from the Russian settlements in the north to the Mexican in the south, and from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific.

Dr. John McLoughlin was born on October 19, 1784, in Rivière-du-Loup, on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River, about a hundred and twenty miles east of Quebec, in the Canadian province Quebec. In the absence of a village priest, the baby was taken to the neighboring village of Kamouraska where, on November 5, 1784, he was christened Jean Baptiste McLoughlin by Curè Trutault. His godparents were Jean Lebel and Marie Magdelaine Sovey. In history he is known only as John McLoughlin.

This first son of John and Angèlique McLoughlin was the third John of his family in the province of Quebec. The first John, his grandfather, was born in Ireland and died in Rivière-du-Loup on October 3, 1812, at the ripe age of ninety-eight. Grandfather McLoughlin married Mary Short, an Irish woman, who died in Rivière-du-Loup in September, 1805, at the age of eighty.[1] No record indicates when Grandfather McLoughlin came to Rivière-du-Loup. He owned land in the community. On April 24, 1780, Jean Chasse gave his children a tract of land, and explained in the description of the property that it was bounded in the north by the land of Jacques Maclas [John McLoughlin]. Six years later, on February 3, 1786, the same Jean Chasse sold John McLoughlin, "fermier du Domaine de la Seigneurie de Rivière-du-Loup," a farm, six arpents[2] wide and forty arpents deep. The deed was executed in the presence of J. Colin, a notary, and was witnessed by Malcolm Fraser. The seignior and Grandfather McLoughlin seem to have been acquainted.

---

[1] "Her [Mary Short's] burial record is found in the records of the vital statistics of the Parochy of St. Andre, County of Kamouraska, because from 1791 to 1813 the Parochy of St. Patrice of Rivière-du-Loup was united with the one of St. Andre for religious purposes," explained the archivist of Rivière-du-Loup. Louis Pelletier Papers, Oregon Historical Society, Portland.

On August 30, 1790, John McLoughlin and John Short, probably his brother-in-law, donated a parcel of land for the first chapel of St. Patrice at Rivière-du-Loup. Grandfather McLoughlin had prospered to the point of owning two farms. The following children were born to John McLoughlin and his wife, Mary Short: 1. John. 2. Cornelius, who seems not to have married. 3. Anne, who died at Rivière-du-Loup in 1821, at the age of seventy-seven. 4. Honoree, who married Gabriel Gagnon in January, 1797, a farmer of St. Anne de la Pocatiere. She was drowned in the St. Lawrence River on November 14, 1797, at the age of twenty-six years.

The first-born child, the second John, is the father of Dr. John McLoughlin. He married Angélique Fraser, the daughter of Colonel Malcolm Fraser, Seignior of Mount Murray. The place and the date of this marriage have not yet been established. It is unknown how it came to pass that Angélique Fraser, the daughter of a seignior in Malbaie, married the son of a farmer of Rivière-du-Loup, forty miles east of Malbaie on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River. Malcolm Fraser and John McLoughlin were land-owners, but belonged to different social classes. Fraser was a seignior, McLoughlin, a *cultivateur*. Sister St. Thomas d'Aquin attempted to solve the riddle. She explains:

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[2] A linear measure, in use locally in Canada, 191.85 English feet.

> John McLaughlin, Sr., was Irish, a worthy son of the nation . . . Towards the end of the 18th century McLaughlin emigrated to Canada; he was a very fine gentleman in all respects. In Quebec, his good education and wide knowledge made him outstanding and he was received in the best society. . . In these happy circumstances Mr. McLaughlin was introduced to Miss Angélique Fraser, eldest daughter of Lieut. [sic] Malcolm Fraser, seignior of Mount Murray. The Irishman and the Scottish girl fell in love.[3]

Her article relates the difficulties of their courtship and marriage. It also states that the father disinherited his daughter because he violently opposed her becoming a Catholic and marrying McLoughlin.

The Sister's account is a mixture of fact and fiction. Her description of this McLoughlin does not fit Angélique's husband. Judging by a letter which he wrote to his father-in-law from Quebec on July 27, 1796,[4] it is hard to believe that the note was written by one with a "good education and wide knowledge" and "a very fine gentleman in all respects . . . received in the best society." Other letters speak of Angélique's husband as a "cultivateur," and Alexander Fraser, his brother-in-law, calls him "The Bête," [5] the stupid one.

Sister St. Thomas evidently confused the details. They cannot refer, as she thought, to Cultivateur John McLoughlin, as he was born in Rivière-du-Loup – not in Ireland. The personal description does not fit him. Neither could the Sister's details have referred to Grandfather John McLoughlin. He could not write his name. On July 12, 1806, he signed a deed with his mark only. There still remains some evidence that there was an educated John McLoughlin in the family, but as yet he has not been identified. The evidence rests on a lease of Henry Caldwell,[6] which was witnessed by Malcolm Fraser and one John McLoughlin. It is dated Rivière-du-Loup, March 25, 1775.

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[3] *Album Historique et Paroissial de Notre-Dame du Portage, 1723 à 1940* (Quebec, 1942), 67. Published by Abbé Edouard Pelletier, hereinafter cited as *Album Historique.*

[4] See photostat, Appendix II, no. 2.

[5] Alexander Fraser to Dr. Simon Fraser, July 20, 1808, McLoughlin Memorial Association, Oregon City, Oregon. If not otherwise indicated all letters and documents are in the archives of the McLoughlin House, Oregon City, Oregon.

Although the circumstances of the marriage of John McLoughlin and Angélique Fraser have not come to light, the church records of Rivière-du-Loup show the birth and the baptism of six children. They are Marie Louise, born in 1780; Marie Elisabeth, 1782; Jean Baptiste, 1784; David, 1786; Julienne, 1788; and Margaret, 1789. In Rivière-du-Loup, eleven to sixty-nine days elapsed between the birth and the baptism of the children. They had to be taken to the neighboring village of Kamouraska for the rites. The register does not contain the name of the seventh child, Honoree. She was born and baptised in Quebec on April 7, 1792, according to a recently discovered certificate written by the Vicar of Quebec on June 7, 1807.[7]

John and Angélique had apparently left their farm and gone to Quebec, probably to facilitate schooling for their children. The letter of John McLoughlin to Malcolm Fraser, July 27, 1796, seems to confirm this. It indicates that the colonel had been insisting that the children should

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[6] See copy, Appendix II, no. 1.

[7] "On the 7th of April 1792," reads an "Abstract from the Baptismal, Wedding and Burials Register, as done in the Parish of Quebec during the year 1792," "by US the undersigned, Vicar of Quebec, has been baptized – Honoree, born on this day from the legitimate marriage of Jean McLoughlin and of Angélique Fraser. The God father was Patrice Daly and the God Mother Marie Daly, wife of Denys Daly, who have signed with the father and Ourselves

(signed) Pa.k Daly Mary Daly
John McLoughlin J. Vidal Priest

The Vicar of Quebec undersigned certifies that this abstract is correct and in agreement with the original

Quebec June 7th. 1807 Ch. Boucherville Priest"

THE FARM AT RIVIÈRE-DU-LOUP, QUEBEC, CANADA

The birthplace of Dr. John McLoughlin and his brothers and sisters. The original buildings have long since been destroyed. Photograph taken in 1952, and made available by Mrs. Alice Prevost of Rivière-du-Loup.

not be brought up in the Roman Catholic faith. John acquiesced under protest. He felt "it rather hard that you should Compell a parent to bring his Children up in a Religion that he wass not brought up himself & consider it is a weakness to Aquiess." This argument could not refer to Marie Louise, the oldest child, who went to live with the colonel at the age of six.

Evidently some of the other children, then between fourteen and four years of age, were in school. In another part of the letter the father speaks of a "Mr. Jones that has them under his Charge." The family moved to Quebec before Honoree was born. Although John McLoughlin promised in 1796 to bring up his children in the faith of Malcolm Fraser, their maternal grandfather, Marie Louise, who lived with the seignior, took her veil on February 27, 1798, and her final vows two years later, over the violent protests of the old soldier.

Most biographies of Dr. McLoughlin picture the young boy and his mother on frequent visits at her ancestral home, the seigniory of Mount Murray. At Malbaie he supposedly spent much time with his maternal grandfather and his two uncles, Alexander and Dr. Simon Fraser. This image created a tradition which was easily fathered by the speculation that it was only natural for the mother to seek a change from the monotony of the isolated farm life at Rivière-du-Loup and return to the manorial home of her childhood. The fact that the boy became a doctor, like his uncle Simon, and then joined the North West Company, in which his uncle Alexander was a partner, seemed to complete this picture. Accepting its validity, one must bear in mind that Rivière-du-Loup is forty miles east of Malbaie on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence River. It takes a good steam ferry today more than an hour to cross the stream at Rivière-du-Loup. Roads at best were poor. The summer was the only feasible time for the journey, the severe winters in this district hardly encouraged travel. The river seems to have been the more likely route, but only in the summer, which in turn was a bad season to leave the farm.

Furthermore, the relationship between father and daughter was severely strained. Colonel Malcolm Fraser was a Scot of the Fraser clan. His daughter had married John McLoughlin, an Irish Catholic. A great-granddaughter of Colonel Fraser, the Sister St. Thomas d'Aquin, writing of this marriage, says:

> Strong in her religious convictions, Miss Fraser told her father she was going to become a Catholic, not primarily to follow the dictates of her heart in marrying Mr. McLaughlin, but to satisfy a desire in her innermost soul. Malcolm Fraser was thunderstruck. He brought up all sorts of objections against this unexpected line of conduct. His daughter was adamant. Then, in a rage, he disinherited her. She left quietly, maintaining that she would always love her father. In due time she renounced her faith and became engaged. McLaughlin was poor but his young wife accepted gracefully the difficulties of her new position.[8]

The date of the marriage between Angélique and John has not been positively established; 1778 is probably the year. The will of Malcolm Fraser[9] was signed on January 18, 1812, about thirty-four years after his daughter's marriage. The document reveals that the colonel left no bequest to Angélique. The letter of July 27, 1796, may point to a contributing factor.[10] Malcolm Fraser died on June 16, 1815, John McLoughlin on April 28, 1813. The seignior survived his son-in-law more than two years, during which he could have changed his will if the presence of Cultivateur John McLoughlin was the sole cause of its terms. Malcolm Fraser made bequests to all his children save Angélique, or explained why he did not. In the case of his daughter Julie, he stated that he had provided for her in her marriage contract. He took particular pains to add that he was not "displease[d] with her but the reverse." He also made bequests to all the children of Angélique, and described them as her children, indicating that he had not forgotten her. In one instance only in his will he called her his daughter, and on three other occasions he refers to her as "the wife of John McLoughlin." The will provided for the seigniory of Mount Murray to descend in succession through his sons William, John, and Simon, and should they die without lawful issue to take the reversionary interest, then it should pass to his daughters, Julienne and Anne. They received also other bequests, both direct and as remainder men. Angélique, on the other hand, received neither direct nor remainder interests of any nature in the will.

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[8] "Conquered and United by Faith. McLoughlin-Fraser," *Album Historique,* p. 67.

[9] See copy and one-page photostat, Appendix II, no. 6.

[10] See photostat, Appendix II, no. 6.

Another aspect must yet be considered. About sixteen months after Dr. John McLoughlin's birth, Malcolm Fraser gave John and Angélique McLoughlin a farm fronting on the St. Lawrence River.[11] This gift is not mentioned in the will as a reason for not leaving Angélique a legacy. Yet the colonel explained in his will that he had purchased the seigniory of Rivière-du-Loup for his oldest son Alexander, and therefore left him no legacy. Thus, the will indicates that Angélique received no bequest, while all his other children were considered, nor does the colonel suggest any explanation for this omission.

The second part of the tradition relates that Dr. John McLoughlin, as a boy, during his regular visits to Mount Murray, was influenced to become a doctor by his uncle, Dr. Simon Fraser, and encouraged to join the North West Company by his uncle Alexander, who was a partner in the company. If Angélique's conversion and marriage caused an estrangement between daughter and father, the breach must have been partly healed in 1786, when Angélique and John visited Malbaie with their six-year old daughter, Marie Louise.

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[11] Abstract of title in possession of the author; deed, dated February 16, 1786.

"The little grand-daughter was six years old when she first appeared in the house of the old soldier," a chronicle relates. "He was so charmed with her childish attractions that he declared she should not return with her parents to Rivière-du-Loup, and almost by force, retained her as his adopted child." [12] Marie Louise continued to live at Malbaie, "attending the Sunday services with her grandfather, and going to a Protestant school instead of the convent." [13]

That the colonel and his daughter had overcome their differences is evident, for in 1786 he gave her a farm in Rivière-du-Loup. Their estrangement must have been further allayed by the presence of Marie Louise during her stay in the home of Malcolm Fraser. But when the girl followed the course of her mother and turned Catholic, there was a "storm raised by the disappointed Colonel on this occasion." Ultimately she joined the church with "the consent of her parents . . . while the irascible relative was absent on a journey." [14] The girl took the veil on February 27, 1798, doubtless causing the wound made when Angélique became a Catholic, to be reopened. The period between 1786 when she came to Malbaie, and the day when she took the veil in 1798, was probably the period when young John also could have visited Mount Murray. He was two years old when his sister went to live with the colonel, and fourteen years old when she entered the monastery. Could the boy have seen his uncle Simon during that time?

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[12] *Glimpses of the Monastery. Scenes from the History of the Ursulines of Quebec during Two Hundred Years, 1639-1839. By a Member of the Community* (2nd ed., Quebec, 1897), 357.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 359.

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Genealogy Department

Seat No. 38

Author Barker

Title McLoughlin Family

Cultivateur John McLoughlin's letter of July 27, 1796, indicates that John was then in school at Quebec. No other evidence has been found to suggest where John might have received instructions before he turned to the study of medicine at the age of fourteen. His school days fell in the years when petite Marie Louise was happily at Malbaie, and it is possible that the young boy might have seen his uncle Simon Fraser between 1789 and 1795, although the whereabouts of both are unknown.

When could John have met his uncle Alexander? Simon's brother joined the North West Company prior to 1780. He became a wintering partner in 1799, or one year after young McLoughlin began his medical studies. John's chances of seeing Alexander were very slim. His uncle's rotation vacation periods were few, they very likely came in months when John must have been at school. The chances are that there were very few, if any, long or intimate periods when either Dr. Simon Fraser or his brother Alexander saw much of the youngster. It is more probable that Dr. John McLoughlin was influenced to follow in their footsteps by the mere fact that he knew of their work and, boylike, admired them. Young John McLoughlin seems to have been living with his uncle, Dr. Simon Fraser, after he had finished his studies in 1803. It appears unlikely that Dr. Fraser influenced Dr. James Fisher of Quebec to accept John as a medical student in 1798, because he was then serving in the British army. If he did so, however, he did the boy a great favor, for Dr. Fisher was one of the prominent Canadian physicians of the day. In April, 1803, John McLoughlin signed a petition for leave to practice medicine. This application was dated at Terrebonne, the residence of Dr. Fraser. The petition is accompanied by a statement of Dr. Fisher, who certified that John had lived with him four years and six months as student of medicine.

"He behaved honestly, he possesses talents," the doctor certified.[15]

Soon after being admitted to practice medicine, Dr. John McLoughlin was employed by the North West Company and sent to Kaministikwia where he took over the responsibilities of Dr. Henry Munro.[16] This was his headquarters. The North West Company had built the post at the mouth of the Kaministikwia River in 1800. The name was later changed to Fort William in honor of William McGillivray, a person of great distinction in the united North West Company. From here Dr. McLoughlin wrote letters as late as 1818, although he is known to have wintered at other posts, such as Sturgeon Lake (1807), Vermillion Lake (1811-12), and Lac la Pluie. An interesting side light occurs in the letter written from Vermillion Lake on March 22, 1812, in which he reveals the fact that he had been offered the opportunity to go to the Columbia River, a prospect which did not arouse his interest. He gave no details. The change could not have meant an improvement of his situation; he was not a partner at that time.

From the beginning of his connection with the North West Company, Dr. McLoughlin was self-assertive for his rights. He had not made the original apprenticeship contract. His uncle, Dr. Simon Fraser, had negotiated the terms. Unfortunately, they had not been reduced to writing and accordingly were open to interpretation. Dr. McLoughlin could not complain directly to the company and was reduced to discussing his troubles with his uncle. He opened the controversy by stating that, according to his understanding, he was to receive, as a clerk, £ 100 for five years; but if, at the same time, he practiced medicine he was to earn £ 100 a year. Also because he had studied medicine more than four years, he contended, he was to be favored with a shorter period of apprenticeship.

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[15] See photostat, Appendix II, no. 3.

[16] Dr. John McLoughlin to Dr. Fraser, July 1, 1808.

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Dr. John McLoughlin wanted his uncle to concede that his interpretation of the contract was correct. Taking the place of Dr. Henry Munro, he had worked as a physician from the beginning, and expected to receive £ 100 a year. With a confirmatory letter from his uncle, he felt he could demand that sum. He was so indignant about the situation that he was tempted to give up the apprenticeship and make his own way. He suggested that he would like to take over the practice of his uncle if Dr. Simon Fraser intended to rejoin the army.[17] "I am determined to go and settle at Detroit," he complained in another letter. "It is certain that I will not lay up that sum but I will live in a Christian Country and . . . I am my own master." [18] He implied that he might have been better off had he gone to the West Indies as his uncle had originally proposed.

Judging from his letters, he must have had a very active practice from the beginning. In them he named some of the diseases he treated, and what he prescribed for them.[19] He appeared eager to keep up with his readings. He requested from his uncle new medical literature that might be of value to him. He also asked for books on history.

The financial difficulties of Dr. McLoughlin's early years with the North West Company were increased through his worries over his brother David's medical studies at the University of Edinburgh, which David entered in 1807. "I really think his situation very distressing," Dr. John told his uncle Simon, "and hope to do every thing in my power to relieve him." [20] He pointed out that he was at first opposed to David's Edinburgh studies because of his own lack of funds. He felt obligated to help, but with a salary of £ 20 a year he could not do much. This remained his situation until 1808, when his apprenticeship contract with the fur company ended and enabled him to bargain for a higher salary. On July 10, 1808, William McGillivray, Chief Director of the North West Company, offered to renew the agreement at £ 150 per year, but without hope for a shorter apprenticeship than was served by any other young man.[21] Dr. McLoughlin turned down the offer. He may have been playing his cards close to his chest, for Roderick McKenzie had suggested to him that, if asked, he should say that he was going to go down as a "stratagem to get better terms." Dr. McLoughlin actually told McGillivray that he "would go down," and leave the trapping country, unless he got £ 200 a year. Six days later, on July 16, McGillivray raised his offer to £ 200 a year.[22] This was a temptation. To refuse it, leave the company, and begin anew, would defeat Dr. McLoughlin's intention to help his brother David. Hence he accepted.

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[17] *Ibid.,* July 28, 1806.

[18] *Ibid.,* July 13, 1808.

[19] *Ibid.,* August 11, 1806.

[20] *Ibid.,* July 1, 1808.

The controversy over the apprenticeship contract continued even after McLoughlin had received his raise. When the dispute was settled for all practical purposes, he continued to ask his uncle for the information "as a satisfaction to myself." [23] Finally, on May 20, 1810, he received a letter from his uncle setting forth the terms of the agreement.[24] Dr. McLoughlin considered this statement of the terms a vindication of his views, but he did nothing with his newly acquired knowledge, even though for a period of six years, 1804 to 1810, he had requested from Dr. Simon Fraser a memorandum on the contract. This character trait, in the end, contributed to Dr. McLoughlin's downfall with the Hudson's Bay Company. It reappeared after the murder of his son, when Dr. McLoughlin began to hold Sir George Simpson responsible for John's death, and continued his accusations, in a series of letters to the Governor and the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, long after the controversy had been settled.

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[21] *Ibid.*, July 13, 1808.

[22] *Ibid.*, July 16, 1808.

[23] *Ibid.*, August 2, [1809].

[24] *Ibid.*, August 2, 1810.

David's lot was the determining factor in Dr. McLoughlin's acceptance of William McGillivray's offer of £ 200. "There is one thought that unmans my fortitude," he pondered on July 13, 1808, "and that is the fear that my brother David should [not] finish his education through want of means." [25] In the next month he informed his uncle Simon that he had arranged with the financial agents to draw £ 100, one-half of his yearly salary, in advance, to be sent to David. "You will believe my sincerity I hope," he assured his uncle, "when I tell you that nothing but my brother's situation could occasion my drawing money before it was due." [26] David's situation in Edinburgh must have been critical. In September Colonel Malcolm Fraser wrote his son, Dr. Simon, a strong plea to forward £ 30 or £ 50 to David, assuring him that he would see that he was repaid.[27]

Dr. McLoughlin appears to have discussed David's medical studies with his uncle Simon. Dr. Fraser hinted that David could have done better in some other profession. Dr. McLoughlin agreed but felt there was nothing to be done now, other than to see David through his studies.[28] Even if he regarded his brother as a heavy financial load, he stood fast in his intentions to help. In the following year, on June 27, 1810, he asked his uncle Simon again to forward David another draft for £ 100, in case he needed it.[29] By the summer of 1811 Dr. McLoughlin had received a letter from his brother David, complaining that for eighteen months he had "not received a single farthing"[30] from his uncle, and that because of the delay in getting the money to him he had been compelled to remain in Edinburgh ten months needlessly. Dr. McLoughlin criticized his uncle Simon for not devising some system by which to transfer the money which he had forwarded for David. It appears that Dr. Fraser, on one occasion, had endeavored to establish a credit for David through a bank in Montreal. This failed. An attempt to use correspondents abroad, also failed. Dr. McLoughlin was much disturbed about these failures, but he still endeavored not to be too harsh with his uncle.

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[25] *Ibid.,* July 13, 1808.

[26] *Ibid.,* August 11, 1808.

[27] *Ibid.,* September 26, 1808.

[28] *Ibid.,* August 2, 1809.

[29] *Ibid.,* June 27, 1810.

While stationed at Kaministikwia, Dr. McLoughlin met Marguerite Wadin McKay. Her husband, Alexander McKay, a Nor'Wester with Dr. McLoughlin, had joined the Astor expedition that sailed from New York in September, 1810, for the Pacific Coast. He had left her, the daughter of a Swiss Protestant fur trader and an Indian woman, on her own with her young children. No evidence has come to light as to when Dr. McLoughlin first met Marguerite. He spent the winter of 1811-12 at Vermillion Lake; one of his letters from that trading post is dated March 22, 1812. On August 12, 1812, he wrote from Fort William. Their first child, John, was born on August 18, 1812. His birthplace might have been at Fort William, Vermillion Lake, or even at Lac la Pluie.

The new relationship in the life of Dr. McLoughlin was common among the men in the fur trade. He lived with Marguerite until his death, and cared for the children fathered by McKay, as well as for the four born to him. In order to comply with more religious and legal concepts the marriage was formalized later at Fort Vancouver, giving full legal status to their children. Their birth is not mentioned in any of these letters although notes were exchanged between him and his uncle Simon each winter. Dr. McLoughlin's marriage was lacking in the formality of the community from which he had come. It was natural that he would not indulge in much writing about the relationship or the children.

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[30] *Ibid.*, August 12, 1811.

Corresponding from Fort William with his uncle Simon on August 12, 1812, Dr. McLoughlin announced that his fortunes were looking up, and that he was to become a partner in the North West Company with the outfit of 1814. This resulted in a partnership, eleven years later.

In the meantime, Dr. McLoughlin had received news of the death of his father. From other sources it appears that Cultivateur McLoughlin had drowned on April 28, 1813, presumably in the St. Lawrence River. At once this placed additional burdens on Dr. McLoughlin, and he asked his uncle Alexander, in Rivière-du-Loup, to draw on him for £ 50 for the use of his mother. His annual letter to his uncle Simon, written at Fort William on July 28, 1814, told of having received a long report from his uncle Alexander with much home news. In a wave of nostalgia, Dr. McLoughlin expressed the wish to return to the life of a country farmer. Alexander's letter also contained the news of the marriage of the doctor's sister Margaret,[31] and also that "my Grandmother[32] and Mother live together at the Big Farm."

Three years later, in 1817, it became necessary for Dr.

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[31] This marriage of Margaret and Basil Saidon, on November 7, 1814, [1813] was bitterly opposed by Alexander Fraser, and just as strongly supported by Dr. McLoughlin's mother and maternal grandmother. Dr. McLoughlin himself sided with his uncle in the dispute. *Ibid.,* March 6, 1817. Archives, McLoughlin Memorial Association, Oregon City, Oregon.

[32] Marie Allaire Fraser, Dr. McLoughlin's maternal grandmother. His paternal grandmother, Mary Short McLoughlin, died in 1805. See the following sketch on Colonel Malcolm Fraser for explanations why his wife was living in Rivière-du-Loup.

McLoughlin to visit Rivière-du-Loup. His mother and maternal grandmother were still living on the "Big Farm." A dispute had arisen because the will of his paternal grandfather had never been registered, and accordingly was invalid.[33] His uncle Cornelius and his aunt Nancy, brother and sister of his father, laid claim to two-thirds of the home farm. Grandfather McLoughlin died on October 3, 1812; Cultivateur McLoughlin drowned on April 28, 1813. These two estates developed within six months of each other. Dr. McLoughlin's parents seem to have been living with his paternal grandfather on the "Big Farm." So long as the grandfather lived, no question of title could be raised. But without a valid will, his children could claim equal rights.

As a partner in the North West Company Dr. McLoughlin was in a strong bargaining position; so strong in fact, that he was able to settle with the relatives by allowing them a small annuity. Because of his business standing, they doubtless preferred a sure income to a contest over the estate. Dr. McLoughlin even went so far as to buy a farm from his uncle Cornelius, and when the matters were adjusted he claimed that he owned eight hundred acres of land. He offered them immediately to his uncle Alexander for £ 2000. The colonel's son countered with a proposal of £ 1500, but no agreement was reached. These were distressing weeks for Dr. McLoughlin. Besides his difficulties in his family, the doctor was awaiting trial as an accessory after the fact as a result of the Seven Oaks affair.[34]

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[33] *Ibid.,* July 28, 1814. Archives, McLoughlin Memorial Association.

[34] The struggle between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company over the Red River settlement, a Scottish colony founded in 1811 near the present city of Winnipeg by Lord Selkirk of the Hudson's Bay Company, led to a fight between the rivals. Governor Robert Semple, of the Honorable Company, and twenty of his twenty-seven attendants were killed in an affair known as the Battle of Seven Oaks. Dr. John McLoughlin was not involved in the fighting, but was held as an accessory after the fact. On October 31, 1818, he was discharged as not guilty. En route to the trial at York in Upper Canada, his canoe was upset in rough weather, a few miles west of Sault St. Marie, and nine of the twenty-one

During his visit Dr. McLoughlin gave his mother an annuity of £ 40 a year, in addition to a place to live on the farm. He seems always to have been thoughtful of both his mother and grandmother. "I have settled my family affairs," he wrote, "made a resignation [possibly assignment] of all my right in my father's and mother's property in favor of my sisters."[35] Well established in the fur trade, Dr. McLoughlin, undoubtedly, was looked on as the home town boy who had made good and returned to help his family. During these weeks he could have told his relatives of his own young family, his five-year old son John and his three-year old daughter Elisabeth. He also seems to have mentioned the Seven Oaks affair, for on his return to Fort William, he wrote a letter to his uncle Simon (October 10, 1817) in which he discussed the events very frankly. His writings indicate an intimate knowledge of the facts on the part of his uncle. He hinted that Alexander Fraser, the son of Dr. McLoughlin's uncle Alexander, had played a minor role, but had not been apprehended, and had gone to "Makinac." He complained of being unwell all this summer "indeed at one time I thought I would have gone to the other world." This may have been the aftermath of his canoe accident in which he narrowly escaped drowning in 1816.

The year 1818 found Dr. McLoughlin again in Rivière-du-Loup. He wrote Dr. Fraser from Montreal, on October 5, 1818, and spoke of being so busy that he could not call on him at nearby Terrebonne, "yet I find after all I am doing little or nothing." His prime task seems to have been to keep his grandmother from quarreling with her son Alexander over money. He asserted that since 1816 he had spent about

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persons aboard drowned. Dr. McLoughlin "was taken lifeless to the shore, and it was long before he was restored." This accident probably was the cause of an illness that worried him for several years.

[35] Dr. McLoughlin to Dr. Fraser, March 6, 1817. Archives, McLoughlin Memorial Association, Oregon City, Oregon.

£ 500 Halifax currency on the family. He established his cousin, John, the son of Dr. Simon Fraser, as his agent. John Fraser was supposed to handle the money Dr. McLoughlin sent for the family and to look after the lands in Rivière-du-Loup. Another of the doctor's uncles, Joseph, lived as tenant on one of the doctor's farms and was three years in arrears with his rent. This, Joseph's brother, Alexander Fraser, had undertaken to assume and to pay. At this period Dr. McLoughlin appears to have given evidence of his business acumen and also of his willingness to help those in distress. Both characteristics were later significant in his career in the Pacific Northwest.

There is an absence of letters for three years, from 1818 to 1821. His account with the North West Company shows that Dr. McLoughlin was then being charged with supplies at Fort William, where he was stationed.[36] During these years the fight between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company for supremacy in the Canadian fur trade had reached its climax. The conference in London between the two leading fur companies concluded the merciless competition. The wintering partners, to protect their interests, insisted that Dr. John McLoughlin and Angus Bethune, a relative of Marguerite Wadin McKay McLoughlin, should represent them in London during the negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Company. En route, Dr. McLoughlin wrote from St. John's to Simon Fraser in November, 1820, and announced that he was to sail on November 10. The letter reflects the strained relations between Alexander and Simon, on the one hand, and between Alexander and his mother on the other. Dr. McLoughlin had carried to Alexander some proposition from Simon that Alexander treated with absolute silence. The struggle between Alexander and his mother, Marie Allaire, had reached the point where Dr. McLoughlin sent his grandmother money and forbade her to have anything further to do with Alexander. Now, for the first time, he wrote about his children, John nine years old, Elisabeth, seven, Eloisa, three, and David, an infant. John and Elisabeth were both in school in Montreal, John with Mr. Glen and Elisabeth with Mrs. Plunkett and Mrs. Leslie. During his trip to Montreal the doctor doubtless made arrangements for their schooling, although he did not mention it in his letters. Since he was leaving the country, he wanted his uncle Simon to look after his children whenever he came to town.

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[36] Burt Brown Barker (ed.), *The Financial Papers of Dr. John McLoughlin* (Portland, 1949), 45. Reprinted from the *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* (Mar., Sept. 1944), XLV; Sept. 1949, L.

Although McLoughlin and Bethune were in London during the conference between the fur companies, they never had any part in the merger of the North West Company and the Honorable Company. The Hudson's Bay Company dealt directly with the house of McTavish, McGillivrays, and Co., the financial agents of the North West Company. The result of the conference, in 1821, was the concentration of the Canadian fur trade in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company. Dr. McLoughlin returned briefly to Canada, but soon sailed for France and spent the winter with his brother David, who had established himself there as a physician. Dr. McLoughlin was uneasy about his health and had a haunting fear of death. He had drawn his will, made his uncle Simon executor, and asked him to take care of his children and his mother, should anything happen to him.[37]

After his return to duty Dr. McLoughlin's first assignment in the Hudson's Bay Company was at Lac la Pluie. From there, on January 2, 1823, he wrote his uncle Simon and thanked him for taking care of his son John. Dr.

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[37] Dr. McLoughlin to Dr. Fraser, May 15, 1822.

McLoughlin mentioned that United States Engineers had passed Lac la Pluie in an endeavor to locate the 49th parallel which, in 1818, had been fixed as the dividing line between the United States and its northern neighbor. Dr. McLoughlin was transferred to the Columbia district, at the meeting at York Factory in Upper Canada on July 10, 1824. He left the depot on the Hayes River – the headquarters of the northern trade on Hudson Bay – for his new post, on July 27, 1824, and reached Fort George, on the south bank of the Columbia, on November 8. The new country did not impress him favorably. The size of the trees surprised him. He related that some of them measured six fathoms in circumference. He did not like the weather. The climate was mild but there was an abundance of rain and cloudy days. He had not seen a single day of sunshine since his arrival in November until March 15, 1825.

Two of his children, six-year old Eloisa and three-year old David, crossed the continent with Dr. McLoughlin and his wife. His older daughter, Elisabeth, had left her boarding school and entered the Ursuline convent in Quebec to study under her aunt, Sister St. Henry, the Mother Superior. Elisabeth, a frail child, caused Dr. McLoughlin concern. He did not want her to come to Fort Vancouver, but to remain in the convent until he could travel East to look after her. In his letter to his uncle Simon, March 15, 1825, he indicated clearly how much education he wished the ten-year old girl to have, not "a splendid Education, but a good one, at least a good education for a Girl. . ." Dr. Fraser had been paying Elisabeth's expenses in the Ursuline convent. In March 1828 he sent £25 to the monastery. To his surprise, two months later, he received a bill from Sister St. Henry[38] to which he strongly objected:

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[38] Sister St. Henry to Dr. Fraser, May 18, 1826.

For one year of board of Miss E. McLoughlin beginning the 16th of May 1825 expired the 15th of May of the Year 1826 and of music	£ 44
Maintenance and medicine	£ 36
	£ 80
Received in the month of March from Dr. Simon Fraser	£ 25
	£ 55

Dr. McLoughlin was experiencing financial troubles with his agent, Thomas Thain, at the time. Sister St. Henry, writing to Dr. Fraser, mentioned this calamity and inquired if her brother John stood to lose anything by the failure. Very frequently Sister St. Henry, although in a cloistered monastery, seemed to have been well informed as to what was going on in the world. During this period George Simpson, overseas governor and head of the Hudson's Bay Company in the New World, had interested himself in McLoughlin's children to the extent of visiting Sister St. Henry. He also kept in touch with Dr. Fraser. He offered to meet any drafts necessary for the children's care. Governor Simpson's interest may have been the result of his visit to the Ursulines. Dr. McLoughlin kept his superior advised about the expenses of the education of his children with the result that in the following year, on October 17, 1827, Simpson sent Dr. Fraser another draft. He had increased the amount to £ 150 and left it to Dr. Fraser to apply the same to bills of both children.

Meanwhile, young John's affairs were going badly in Montreal. There is no letter to indicate that Dr. McLoughlin knew what was transpiring. He had received a letter from his son, dated April 27, 1829, asking for the second time to be allowed to join his father at Fort Vancouver. Dr. McLoughlin replied that the second request was, as the first, ill-timed. Doubtless he had heard from Dr. Fraser and Governor Simpson what had happened at school, when John lost his temper and alienated both the governor and the schoolmaster. The result was that Dr. McLoughlin wrote John a long but kind letter, pointing out the importance of making friends and of advancing his position in life through a good education. This letter is dated February 1, 1830. John sailed for France on October 26, 1829, and lived in Paris with his uncle, Dr. David McLoughlin. Writing from the Seine he said, in a postscript of his letter on October 26, 1831, that his father did not learn that he was in Paris until Governor Simpson told him. It is also possible that John did not know all the facts.

The relationship between Dr. McLoughlin and his brother David was one of real affection. McLoughlin addressed him as "My Dear David" and signed himself, "Your affectionate Brother." Naturally, he was pleased to see his son study medicine under Dr. David. The progress reports were good, so far as the letters go. They represent John's own estimation of his work, but he was willing to have the truth of his statements checked by suggesting that his grand-uncle Simon write to David. It was, therefore, a great disappointment when Dr. David McLoughlin suddenly sent John home. Especially so since Dr. John McLoughlin, encouraged through the reports, had sent his second son to Paris with the hope that his brother would look after the education of both boys. Young David probably went to Paris in the winter of 1833-34. The few references seem to indicate that he was to study at Addiscombe College[39] near London, preparatory to entering the Indian service. Apparently this was the idea of his uncle David.

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[39] Addiscombe College, at Croydon, near London, served as military college for the East India company. On the abolition of the company it became the Royal Military College for the East Indian army, and was closed in 1862.

Dr. McLoughlin did not learn immediately that his son John, after returning to Canada and discouraged by his unsuccessful efforts to continue his medical studies, led a gay life in Montreal, ran his relatives in debt, and finally joined the filibustering expedition of "General" James Dickson. It was John Fraser who, on April 13, 1837, wrote Dr. McLoughlin of John's adventures. But he did not report that Governor Simpson had heard about the expedition and had employed John McLoughlin and his companion, Alexander R. McLeod, when the "Liberators of the Indian Nations" reached the Red River colony. Dr. McLoughlin probably knew the entire story from his son before John Fraser's letter arrived at Fort Vancouver.

The Council of the Northern Department had appointed John McLoughlin surgeon at Fort McLoughlin in June, 1837, but his father had him transferred to Fort Vancouver. He arrived there in August, 1837.

Dr. McLoughlin sailed, about the middle of August, 1838, to visit his brother David, in Paris. He left John under the care of Chief Factor James Douglas, who was in charge of the post on the Columbia in absence of Dr. McLoughlin. The books of the Hudson's Bay Company in London show that Dr. McLoughlin drew his first money on September 1, 1838. This amount was probably paid to him in person in London, because on September 8 he received money through his agent, M. Daly, in Paris. He lived with his brother until March, 1839. His return passage – £ 38-5-0 – on the S.S. "Great Western," was paid on February 16, 1839. His account shows that he drew £ 1200 during his stay in Paris.[40]

Coming home from Paris, in the spring of 1839, Dr. McLoughlin brought his younger son with him. After

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[40] Barker (ed.), *Financial Papers of Dr. McLoughlin,* pp. 68-70.

David's arrival at the Columbia, both McLoughlin boys worked in the Vancouver office with their father. "They are as attentive and smart at their work as most young men," the father wrote, and added, "young men ought to be Kept Employed." [41] Since his arrival at Fort Vancouver, John had been under the steady guidance of Chief Factor Douglas and under the tutelage of his father part of the time. It must have been a great satisfaction for the family to see John settling down to hard work after the wild life he had led. Especially his father, who also despaired of him, viewed the new development with growing pride.

In June, 1840, John was sent by Governor Simpson to Fort Stikine, in the Russian territory, with his brother-in-law, William Glen Rae. Simpson visited the fort in 1841 and found it so well run that he moved Rae to San Francisco and left John to govern what was reportedly one of the most difficult posts on the Pacific Coast. John was shot by his rebellious men on April 20, 1842. Governor Simpson arrived on April 25, and conducted a superficial investigation. He wrote Dr. McLoughlin about the murder on April 27, 1842, and added that "any Tribunal by which the case could be tried, would find a verdict of 'Justifiable Homicide'." [42] Even if the details which Sir George cited had been correct, the tone of his letter was uncalled for. When subsequent investigations showed that Governor Simpson's conclusions were hasty, it became evident that Sir George had laid himself open to attacks by Dr. McLoughlin, who did not let the opportunity pass. The series of McLoughlin letters to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's

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[41] Dr. McLoughlin to Dr. Fraser, October 24, 1840.

[42] Rich (ed.), *McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters, Second Series, 1839-44,* p. 344.

Bay Company were filled with such an array of factual details to disprove Simpson's position that the Committee, in the end, justified McLoughlin. But the victorious father had lost both his self-control and sense of proportion over the fight. In letter after letter, he followed up the attack against Sir George, until finally the Governor and Committee were convinced that Dr. McLoughlin had to leave the Hudson's Bay Company.

Dr. McLoughlin, in an effort to protect the interests of the company, had offered to effect a paper transfer of title to the mills at Oregon City from the Hudson's Bay Company to himself, in the hope that the move would lessen the settlers' antagonism. The plan proved to be a trap. Sir George Simpson sprang it, and on his recommendation the Honorable Company sold Dr. McLoughlin the mills against his wishes and over his strenuous protests. When it became evident to Dr. McLoughlin that he would be forced to quit his position in the Hudson's Bay Company and manage the mills as his private enterprise, he resigned, reluctantly reconciled to the situation, and began to build a home in Oregon City. This he occupied from 1846 until his death on September 3, 1857.

The murder of his son John, in April 1842, marked the beginning of Dr. McLoughlin's family grief. His mother, Angélique, died three months later. She probably never knew of the sad fate which befell John. In 1844 his favorite uncle, Dr. Simon Fraser, died at Terrebonne. In June, in the following year, Dr. McLoughlin received the crushing news that his son-in-law, William Glen Rae, the husband of Eloisa, had committed suicide at Yerba Buena where he was in charge of the San Francisco store of the Hudson's

Bay Company. On July 3, 1846, occurred the death of his favorite sister Marie Louise, the Sister St. Henry of the Quebec Ursulines. The February Revolution of 1848 and the flight of Louis Philippe ended the enviable position of his brother David in Paris. On November 2, 1849, Lady Jane, the wife of Dr. David McLoughlin, died. In the same year, David, Dr. McLoughlin's younger son, resigned from the Hudson's Bay Company, and left Oregon City.

Dr. McLoughlin's business and real estate holdings were sufficient to keep him well employed.[43] But the forced resignation from his commanding position over the vast territory which he had ruled for twenty-one years, to the rôle of a private citizen, hurt his pride. His word was no longer law. He now walked the streets with men and women who had known him at the peak of his command, and who knew that he, at the age of sixty-one, had, like Samson, been shorn of his power. The animosity of a faction of the settlers against Dr. McLoughlin increased the difficulties of his new position.[44] The steward of an empire was reduced to the role of a local merchant.[45] But men of broad vision, with lust for power, do not willingly resign to become shopkeepers. Nor did Dr. John McLoughlin. The last years of his life were filled with a continuous protest against this dethronement. They clearly show that Dr. McLoughlin was the real heir to the unconquerable and uncompromising spirit of the Frasers. Of all his known relatives, only one lived that life of a Fraser to its fullest extent – Colonel Malcolm Fraser, the Seignior of Mount Murray.

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[43] For an inventory of Dr. John McLoughlin's estate, see Barker (ed.), *Financial Papers of Dr. McLoughlin,* pp. 5-35.

[44] Dr. John McLoughlin's letter to Alexander H. H. Stuart, Secretary of the Interior under the Fillmore administration, July 15, 1851, Appendix II, throws some light on the doctor's calamities that grew out of Samuel R. Thurston's clause XI, of the Oregon Donation Land Law.

[45] Thomas Cox, the great-grandfather of the writer, arrived in Salem, Oregon, in October, 1847, with a store of merchandise. He became the first merchant of Salem. He built a combined residence and store building on the northeast corner of Commercial and Ferry streets in 1848. He purchased supplies from Dr. John McLoughlin in Oregon City, as did other local merchants.

MARGUERITE WADIN McKAY McLOUGHLIN

Marguerite Wadin McKay McLoughlin survived her husband, Dr. John McLoughlin.

The following account of her last illness and death has recently come to light in the Chronicles of St. Mary's Academy, Portland:

> FEBRUARY 25, 1860 The Archbishop (Francis Norbert Blanchet) requests us to go to Oregon City to prepare an old lady, the wife of Doctor McLaughlin, for death. This woman, though raised a Catholic, for some private reason refuses to receive the sacraments. Mother Superior, Sister M. Febronia, and Sister M. Florence start on their mission of charity. The old lady, on seeing the Sisters, gave signs of satisfaction. She wishes to have them near her. Among other things she informed them that in the family of her husband there were some religious, Ursuline nuns, at Three Rivers, Quebec. She had known the Sisters of Notre Dame, who had formerly been at Oregon City, and for whom she had a high esteem. From this our Sisters took occasion to speak of the great affair of her salvation which was the all important one at that moment. The sufferer became calm and reflective. More fervent became the prayers of her attendants who after a few minutes withdrew to an adjoining room. On perceiving that she was alone, the old lady called her nurse and enquired for the Sisters. "I wish them near me," she said. Again they endeavor to prevail upon her to receive the sacraments. Two days thus pass without obtaining anything from the sufferer. Life is leaving her as she scarcely sees nor hears. We watch and pray. We have promised to recite the Memorare until this grace is obtained. This is Sunday. The Sisters assist at Mass at the parish church and hasten to return to the bed side of the patient. On entering the house a member of the family announces the change which has taken place in Mrs. McLaughlin. Thanks to our Blessed Mother, she begs for a priest. Reverend Father Poulin is at once called. He hears her confession and prepares her to receive extreme unction. A

few minutes later Our Divine Lord enters this house to console and fortify the dying penitent in her last moments. For two days longer she lingers in a sort of agony which is at length terminated by a most peaceful death.

The following Friday four of our Sisters assisted at her funeral service held in the Catholic Church of Oregon City.

Beaufort Castle, Beauly, Scotland. Home of the present Lord Fraser of Lovat
Photograph furnished by the Provost of Inverness, Scotland.

III

Two Frasers—Malcolm and Dr. Simon

MALCOLM FRASER

A brief glance into the annals of the Frasers[1] shows the headstrong character of the family members. At the end of the seventeenth century, Simon Fraser was thirty years old when he thought it time to seek the title of Lord Lovat. The

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[1] The account of the family is based largely on George M. Wrong, *A Canadian Manor and Its Seigneurs; The Story of a Hundred Years, 1761-1861* (Toronto, 1908). For details see the articles on some members of the family in the *Dictionary of National Biography.*

The Clan Fraser of Lovat, by Charles Ian Fraser of Reeling (London, 1952), provides Fraser data: Clan Fraser of Lovat is among the oldest clans in Scotland, dating from the fourteenth or fifteenth century. They did not come as conquerors or refugees, but as legal heirs of former rulers. They were careful to maintain good relations with the Crown and to extend their territory by legal methods. Their "country" has been mainly in East and Central Invernessshire. It was said of one Fraser chieftain, "his ear could hear at Lovat what was whispered in Holyroodhouse."

The name Fraser seems to be French, as is the motto on the coat of arms, *Je suis prest* (I am ready). A picturesque but questionable tradition of the name says it came from the French word *Fraise*—strawberry. The cinque foil flowers on the coat of arms are termed "fraises" by the Scottish heralds when blazoning Fraser arms.

The first record of a Fraser in Scotland is 1160, when one Simon Fraser gave a large tract of land to the monks of Kelso. Another, Sir Simon Fraser of Oliver Castle, was a prominent adherent of William Wallace and Robert the Bruce. Another Fraser married Lady Mary, the sister of The Bruce.

The Frasers seem to have owned Lovat as early as 1416. Hugh Fraser was created a Scottish Peer sometime between 1456 and 1464 and given the title, "Lord Fraser of Lovat." Beaufort, where the present castle is located, was not obtained until 1511. It is the residence of the present Lord Fraser of Lovat. It is modern but located almost on the site of the old Castle Downie.

Just west of the present Beaufort Castle is the "Field of Downie." Here the Fraser Clan mustered in 1745 preparatory to the battle of Culloden, where they were defeated on April 6, 1746, after which the Hanoverian troops destroyed the old Downie Castle. Lord Fraser's son, Simon, was incarcerated in prison until Pitt

Dowager Countess of Lovat stood in his way. His attempt to marry her daughter Emilia was blocked. He broke into the baroness' castle only to find that the daughter had been spirited away. Furious, he forced the baroness to marry him, "the bagpipes being blown up to stifle the lady's cries." Her relatives, from the powerful house of Atholl, drove the unwanted husband into the wilds of the northern highlands. He eluded every effort to capture him, and occasionally inflicted severe losses on his pursuers. He finally found his way to France.

In his exile he remained a dominant figure among the highland Frasers. He joined the ranks of the Jacobites, but, in 1715, the intriguer returned to Scotland and espoused the cause of the House of Hanover. George I pardoned his many offenses, and in 1730 officially recognized him as the eleventh Lord Lovat. Yet the rebellion of 1745 found Simon Fraser on the side of the Stuarts. He was defeated at the battle on Culloden Moor, and his castle Downie destroyed. The lord was captured, tried for treason, and sent to the block. The legend has glorified his end on the scaffold with the attributes that authenticate the life of a Fraser. The Lord had rehearsed his role so that he could kneel down at the block with the composure of a gentleman. In true fashion he carefully inspected the blade of the executioner's axe to be sure that it had a sharp edge before he bowed his head.

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advised George II to release him and allow him to return to the confiscated estates of his father, and there raise a regiment to be known as the 78th Regiment (Fraser Highlanders). This was done and the master of Lovat, possessing neither money nor land, raised a regiment of fourteen hundred men, more than half of them from the Fraser country. This regiment went to Canada and fought valiantly in the Plains of Abraham.

The Master of Lovat continued his military career, and as General Simon Fraser, in 1774, received back the forfeited Lovat Estates.

As late as 1951, at their chief's invitation, more than seven hundred Lovat clansmen paraded on the Field of Downie. More than four thousand Frasers and their relations attended the gathering. So strong is the clan tradition, that many Frasers from overseas were present at the gathering.

Malcolm Fraser, (ffraser, as he wrote it) a distant relative, was a worthy chip off the old block. He was born in Scotland on May 26, 1733,[2] the son of Donald Fraser, who fought the Stuarts and died in the battle of Culloden on April 16, 1746. At the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, young Malcolm joined the 78th, or Fraser Highlanders, a regiment which Colonel Simon Fraser, the son of the eleventh Lord Lovat, had raised on the confiscated estates of his father for the Elder Pitt. The young officer participated with the Highlanders in the Canadian campaign and fought in the battle of Quebec. As a young man of twenty-six he kept a diary of General James Wolfe's triumph. It shows that he then had considerable powers of observations and very definite opinions. Extracts of his journal were published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in 1868. Historians have frequently confused the identity of Malcolm Fraser with that of the commanding officer, Colonel Simon Fraser.[3] In the second engagement at Quebec, the young lieutenant was severely wounded. General James Murray, who had succeeded General Wolfe in command of the British expeditionary forces, as governor of the province of Quebec, rewarded Fraser's bravery with the seigniory of Mount Murray, east of Malbaie River. The land west of the river, the seigniory of Murray Bay, fell to the lieutenant's battle companion, his lifelong friend, John Nairne.

The seigniory of Mount Murray extended east from the Malbaie River along the St. Lawrence for eighteen miles to the River Noire, and was three leagues (nine miles) deep. Two thousand acres belonged to freehold farms, the remainder was under seigniorial tenure. No private owners were dispossessed through the creation of the two seigniories.

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[2] W[illiam]. S[tewart]. Wallace, "Notes on the Family of Malcolm Fraser," *Bulletin Des Recherches Historiques,* Mai, 1933 (Levis, Quebec) XXXIX, p. 349.

[3] Wrong, *Canadian Manor,* p. 249.

The French government had withheld the land from settlement as refuge for fur bearing animals. Tenant farmers tilled the soil for the government with their limited farm equipment. Their property consisted of a few horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens. Neither Fraser nor Nairne had any money; each purchased the equipment on his land by note. Nairne's signature covered £85-6-8, Fraser's £42-13-4.

If such a seignior complied strictly with etiquette, he appeared before the governor with uncovered head, wearing neither sword nor spurs, fell on his knees, and declared homage for his seigniory. He then would take an oath to be faithful to the king, to hold his own vassals to the same obedience, and to perform all duties required by the title deed. No records have come to light to show whether Malcolm Fraser ever gave such fealty to his old commander, General James Murray. The Crown required little of the seigniors. Consequently they had little control over their tenants. They could demand certain rents for the use of the land, but these were small, amounting to the equivalent of only a few dollars. Generally the tenant paid in kind, often with a capon or a small measure of corn. "Thus for a farm of 100 acres, with twenty arpents (384 feet) of frontage, a habitant might pay $1.00 in cash and two capons." [4]

On New Year's Day the tenants gathered at the manor house to offer their respects and consume the whisky and the cakes of the seignior. They all assembled on May Day to plant their poles and to dance for him. The seignior was generally the godfather of the first-born of his tenants. He was accorded certain preferences by custom. He occupied a special church pew, received communion first, and took precedence in a procession. He was censed first, and he could compel the tenant to labor at certain days on the roads or at the manor house.[5] The seignior operated the only lumber and grain mills. He was entitled to every eleventh fish caught in his streams. But the seignior could not drive a tenant from the land as long as the farmer paid his trivial rent. If the tenant sold the land, the seignior was entitled to one-twelfth of the money.

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 209.

Henry Caldwell, a friend and contemporary of Malcolm Fraser, was one of a group of seigniors who lived in royal splendor. This "seignior of Lauzon opposite Quebec, used to drive through his great seigniory in state, half reclining on the cushions of his carriage and with a numerous following. If on a long drive he stopped at a farm house, even for the light refreshment of a drink of milk, he never paid the habitant with anything less than a gold coin." George M. Wrong, the Canadian historian, once asked a habitant, who remembered the old days, about the seignior's status in the village. He replied, with something like awe in his voice, *"Monsieur, il était le roi, l'empereur, du village."*[6]

Not all seigniors lived high and mighty. Their habits varied with their character. Related Wrong:

> The ministrations of the manor house were often patriarchal and beneficent; the seignior's wife was like the squire's wife in an English village . . . M. [Philippe Aubert] de Gaspé tells how he often accompanied Madame Taché, in her own right co-seignioress of Kamouraska, . . . in her visits to the people on the seigniory. She took alms to the poor, and wine, cordials, delicacies to the sick and convalescent. "She reigned as sovereign in the seigniory," he says, "by the very tender ties of love and of gratitude." When she left the village church after mass on Sunday the habitants, most of whom drove to church in their own vehicles, would wait respectfully for her to start and then follow her in a long procession, none of them venturing to pass her on the road. At the point where she turned from the highway up the avenue leading to the manor house, each habitant, as he passed, would raise his hat.[7]

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[5] See copy of a lease by Henry Caldwell, Seignior of Lauzon, Appendix II, no. 1.

[6] Wrong, *Canadian Manor,* p. 210.

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 211.

No document reflects the seigniorial attitude of Malcolm Fraser. As a confirmed Protestant he had few if any contacts with the Catholic church and hence no church preference. Fraser built his gristmill in 1798. He seems to have had his sawmill prior to that date. In 1797, in a letter to John Nairne, he expressed the hope "that there are a great many loggs brought, and to be brought, to your and my saw mills." [8] Even if Malcolm Fraser were a lenient seignior, there was always present the social distinction and prestige which went with the title. As one of the Fraser Highlanders, he undoubtedly enjoyed the privileges of his position. Dr. John McLoughlin, his grandson, might have caught this spirit during his boyhood visits. The atmosphere of the manor house could account for some of the formalities on which he insisted at Fort Vancouver, such as the Scotch bagpiper who was part of his entourage at the post of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Columbia.

Malcolm Fraser did not develop his seigniory as rapidly as did his friend John Nairne, who had resigned his commission in the British army and devoted himself exclusively to his estate. Fraser continued in the king's service. At Point Fraser he built his manor house of wood and inhabited it until his death.[9] He is said to have lived with Indian women whose children took the name of their mothers. About 1759, approximately one year before he received title to Mount Murray, he married Marie Allaire, a French Canadian, by whom he had the following children:

1. Angélique, born about 1760, at Mount Murray. She married John McLoughlin, a "cultivateur de Rivière-du-Loup-en-bas." He died on April 28, 1813, leaving Angélique, mother of Dr. McLoughlin, a widow for twenty-nine years. She died at Rivière-du-Loup on July 31, 1842.

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[9] See also the brief history of the "Manor House of Mount Murray," Appendix v.

2. Alexander, born at Mount Murray about 1761. He entered the service of the North West Company prior to 1789 and became a wintering partner, about 1799. In 1802 he and his father bought the seigniory of Rivière-du-Loup from Henry Caldwell. Alexander retired to his estate in 1806, and lived there until his death on June 14, 1837. He had married an Indian woman while in the North West Company. She was known as Angélique Meadows. Their four children were declared his lawful heirs in 1884. He lived in second marriage with Pauline Michaud, a French Canadian, by whom he had seven children.

3. Joseph, born about 1765. He married Anne Smith. They had several children of whom the names of five are known. Joseph died in Rivière-du-Loup on October 24, 1844.

4. Simon, born January 1, 1769, died at Terrebonne, near Montreal, on February 20, 1844. He was a physician and, after serving as lieutenant in the British army, (2nd Regiment of Foot) settled at Terrebonne. He was Dr. McLoughlin's favorite uncle and supervised in part the education of the doctor's four children.

After Simon's birth, over twenty years elapsed before the birth of the next child, Julienne. It is very likely that the seignior married for the second time during this interval although no divorce records have yet been found. There is a time period of forty years between the birth of Angélique, the first child, in 1760, and John Malcolm, the last, in 1800. Additional evidence seems to support this hypothesis. In 1814, Marie Allaire, the seignior's first wife, was living in Rivière-du-Loup with her oldest daughter[10] while her husband resided at Mount Murray until his death on June 16, 1815. In his will, dated January 18, 1812, Malcolm Fraser gave Marie Allaire the interest on a mortgage of £400 that he held on her property at Cape Diamond in

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[10] Dr. John McLoughlin to Dr. Simon Fraser, July 28, 1814.

Quebec. She also received principal and interest of another similar mortgage of £ 200. Besides these minor items, she was not remembered in the will. However, the old soldier gave Mrs. Mary Dugros an annuity of £ 25 with the right to live in his manor house. She also was to have care of his two younger sons, William and John, when they were home from school, "because she has lived in my house and hath had the management of my household and other affairs at Point Fraser for several years past." If Mary Dugros was the colonel's second wife, she probably was also the mother of the following children, although no record of the marriage has been found:

5. Julienne, born approximately in 1791 or 1792, died in Quebec on November 6, 1847. Julie married Patrick Langan, of Montreal, in 1806.

6. Anne, born on February 18, 1792, was married twice. Her first husband was Joseph Belanger, her second Amable Belair.

7. William, born on August 28, 1794, became a seignior of Mount Murray after the death of his father. He died at Malbaie in 1832.

8. John Malcolm was born on January 9, 1800, and died at Malbaie on April 16, 1860. He succeeded his brother William as seignior of Mount Murray. He married Grace Forsyth, who died on January 28, 1836. They had two daughters, who inherited Mount Murray after the father's death. Mary, one of the daughters, married Thomas J. Reeve, by whom she had six children. John Fraser Reeve, one of the children who succeeded to Mount Murray, sold the estate to George T. Bonner, of New York, in 1902. He left it to his daughter Maude, Mrs. Francis Higginson Cabot of New York City, who is the present owner of the seigniory of Mount Murray.[11]

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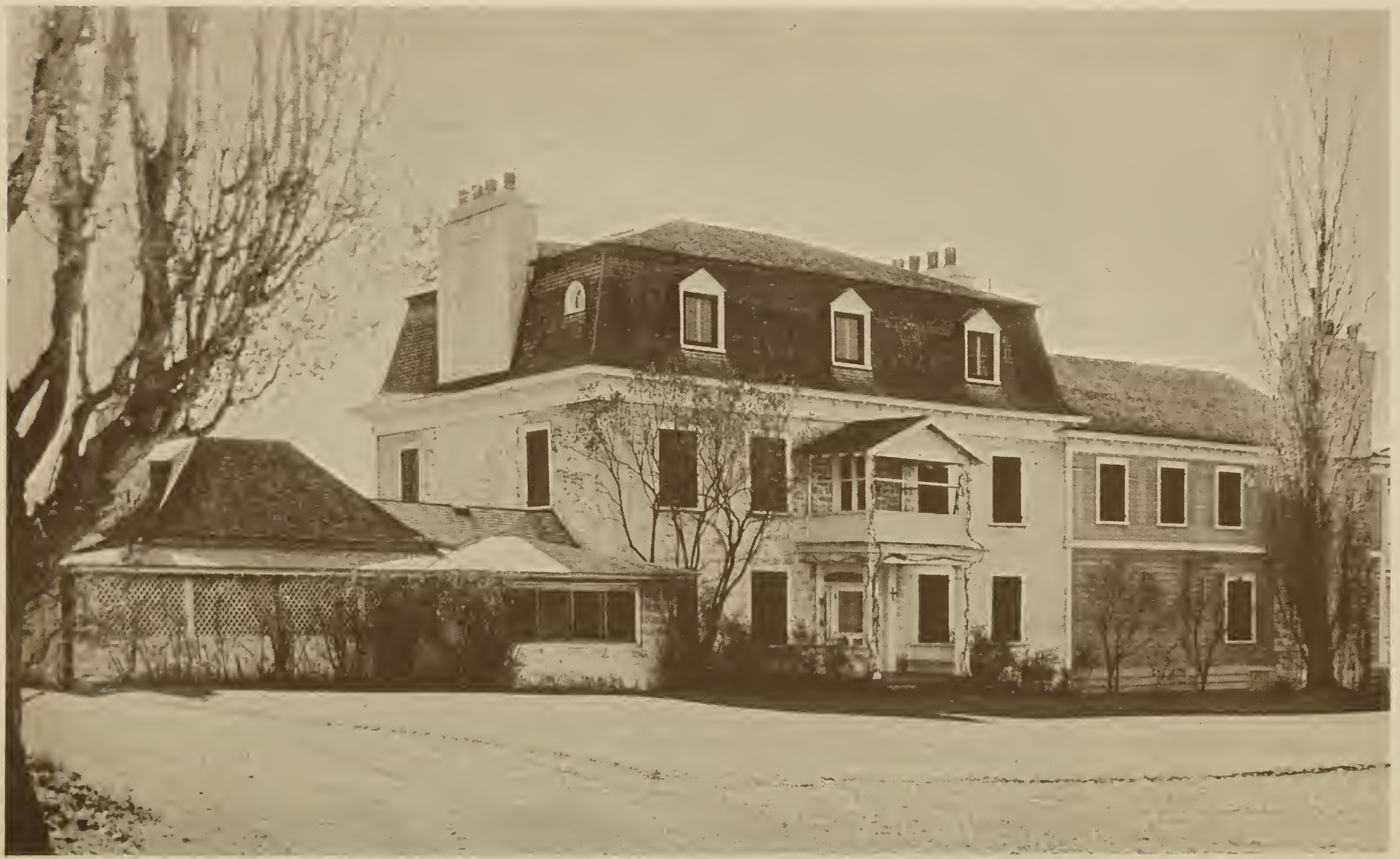
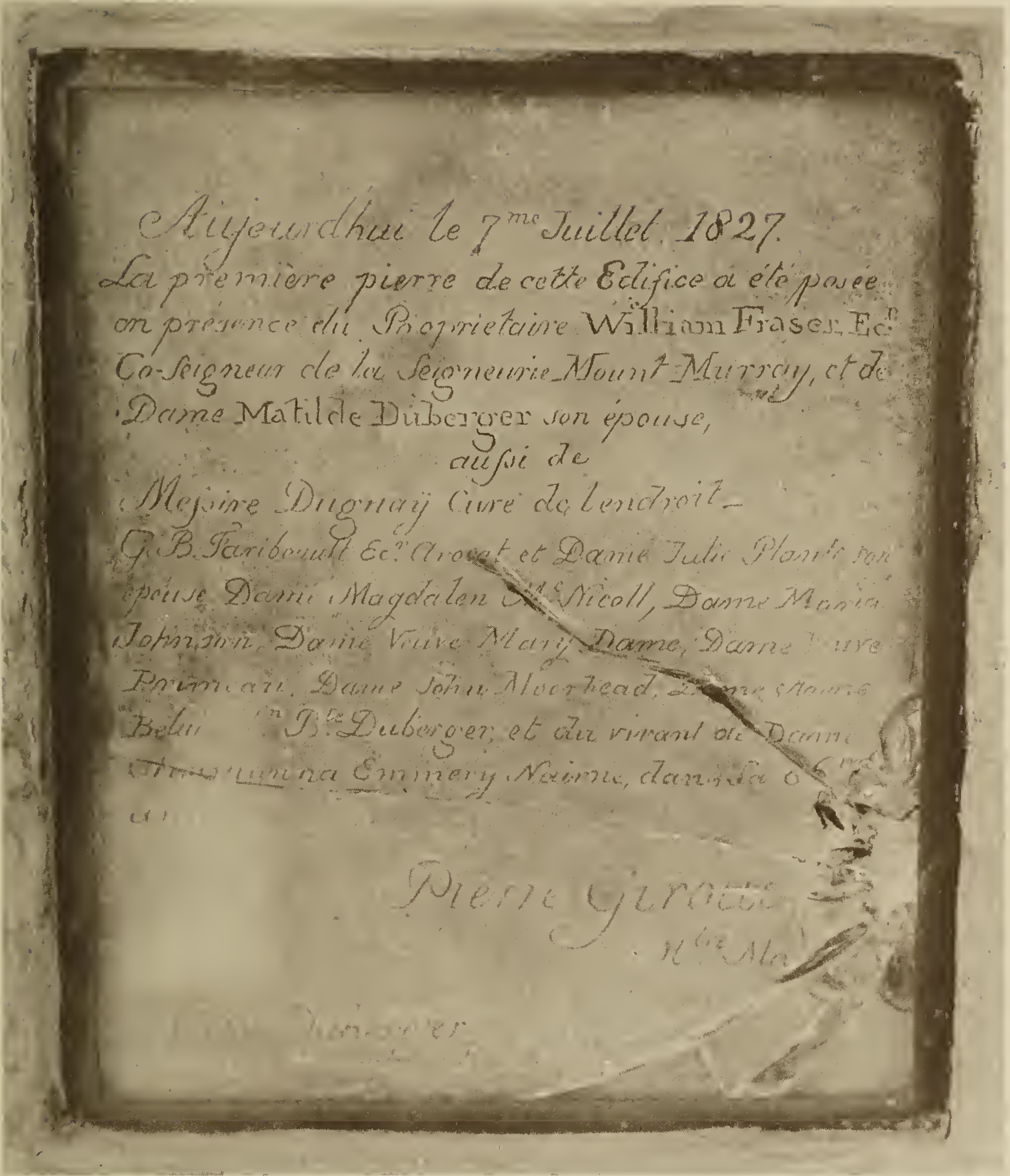
[11] This genealogical review was taken from Wallace, "Notes on the Family of Malcolm Fraser," *Bulletin Des Recherches Historiques,* Mai, 1933, XXXIX, p. 267.



Manor House of the Seigniory of Mount Murray

This house was built of stone in 1827 by William Fraser, son of Malcolm. The original manor house built by Col. Fraser was of frame construction and was later destroyed. This stone house suffered earthquake damage in 1925, and was restored by F. H. Cabot who built the wings on each end.

Photograph, 1953, courtesy of Mrs. Francis Higginson Cabot.



Aujourdhui le 7^{me} Juillet 1827.
La première pierre de cette Edifice a été posée
en présence du Propriétaire William Fraser Ec^{r}
Co-Seigneur de la Seigneurie Mount Murray, et de
Dame Matilde Duberger son épouse,
auſsi de
Meſsire Dugnay Curé de lendroit –
G. B. Faribault Ec^{r} Avocat et Dame Julie Plante son
épouse Dame Magdalen M^{c}Nicoll, Dame Maria
Johnson, Dame Veuve Mary Dame, Dame Veuve
Primeau, Dame John Moorhead, Dame Anne
Belair [illegible] B^{te} Duberger, et du vivant de Dame
Christianna Emmery Nairne, dans sa 86^{me}
an

Pierre Giroux
M^{tre} Ma[illegible]

[illegible] Duberger

Cornerstone of the Mount Murray Manor House

Translation: Today, the 7th of July 1827, the cornerstone of this building has been laid in the presence of the owner William Fraser, Esq., co-seignior of the Seigniory Mount Murray, and of Lady Matilde Duberger, his wife; also of Mr. Dugnay, priest of the locality — G. B. Faribeault, Esq., lawyer, and Lady Julie Plante, his wife; Lady Magdalen McNicoll; Lady Maria Johnson; Lady Mary Demerie, widow; Lady Primeau, widow; Lady John Moorhead; Lady Anne Belair; Jn. Bte. [Jean Baptiste] Duberger; and the vivacious Lady Christianna Emmery Nairne, in her 86th year.

Jn. Bte. Duberger	Pierre Giroux [?]
Anxit. [?]	Master Mason [?]

The purchase of the seigniory of Rivière-du-Loup, on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River, for his son Alexander gave Malcolm Fraser opportunity for many visits across the river. He established a system of fire signals by which he communicated from Kamouraska with his friends in Malbaie. A long burning blaze meant good news. A half smothered flame stood for illness. A large blaze referred to an adult, a small one to a child. A fire suddenly extinguished indicated death. The signals were particularly popular during the Christmas season when each location was ablaze with its fires. In his later years, the capture of Quebec became the favorite subject of diversion for the aging colonel. "Your father," the seignior's oldest son, Alexander, wrote to his sister, Julie, on September 6, 1812, "I hear is in good spirits, old Campbell and himself recall General Wolf from his sleep at least twice each day."

The growing social life at Murray Bay and Mount Murray was evident as early as 1801. By that time both manor houses were popular during the summer, and mentioned as places where "you shall drink the best of wheys and breathe the purest sea air in the world."[12] Fraser's daughters, Mrs. Langan and Mrs. Bleakley, visiting Malbaie, were spoken of as "rich ladies from Montreal."[13] Malbaie showed early all the earmarks of a fashionable summer resort. The summer was the season for social calls. The cold winters brought heavy snow and made travel almost impossible.

Malcolm Fraser's military rank frequently interfered with his leisure as a country gentleman. During the struggle between George III and his American colonists, Fraser's friend, John Nairne, received orders to assure the loyalty of the French Canadians and to organize a regiment, the Royal Highland Emigrants. He became its colonel, and

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[12] Wrong, *Canadian Manor,* p. 106.

[13] *Ibid.* Wallace, *op. cit.,* fails to mention Mrs. Bleakley.

Malcolm Fraser served as captain and paymaster. With the advance of the American rebels, after the fall of Montreal, the regiment was assigned to the defense of Quebec. The invaders, under Benedict Arnold and General Richard Montgomery, laid siege to Quebec. On the last day of the year 1775, Montgomery attacked. Captain Malcolm Fraser, making his rounds between four and five in the morning, is said to have seen the signal to attack. He spread the alarm, and every man was at his post when the assault occurred. The American attackers were driven back, Montgomery was killed, Arnold wounded.

The close association between Malcolm Fraser and John Nairne during the defense of Quebec sprang from their deep friendship which had begun on the Plains of Abraham and continued at Malbaie. Fraser remained the tried and true friend of the Nairne family. In 1773, when John Nairne visited his native Scotland, it became the sad duty of Malcolm Fraser to notify him of the death of his three infant children during an epidemic. In 1800 he informed the Nairnes of the death of their oldest son John, who died as officer in India. Thomas, Nairne's youngest son and Fraser's godchild, became the sole heir to perpetuate the family name. His godfather was most anxious that the boy should not follow in the footsteps of his father and brother and serve as an army officer. But the fighting blood ran strong in young Tom, and at the age of seventeen he was a lieutenant in the 10th Regiment of Foot. He soon learned to realize the dangers connected with his profession. In a letter to his godfather he expressed the hope that Fraser would enjoy a long life because "I have no other person to protect my mother and sisters." One of the replies of the old soldier, written on October 7, 1805, and still in the files of the manor house of Murray Bay, is filled with fatherly advice. But Malcolm Fraser was also a reproving godfather. When Tom lived at Murray Bay, on leave from his regiment, Malcolm Fraser watched him closely and at times lectured him, as he seemed to have conducted himself at home not entirely to the satisfaction of his godfather. But Thomas Nairne's winning ways always consoled the colonel and, on October 10, 1811, the seignior wrote to James Ker in Scotland, "I think him incapable of any mean action; – he seems to hearken to the lectures of his old Godfather tho' not perhaps always delivered in the most delicate Style." [14]

The War of 1812 ended the intimate relationship between Malcolm Fraser and Thomas Nairne. In May, 1812, Malcolm Fraser, at the age of seventy-nine, mustered a local militia and led the men to Quebec. The regiment to which Thomas Nairne was assigned received its marching orders and went into the interior. The declaration of war followed on June 19, 1812. Tom's regiment was ordered to aid in the defense of Lake Ontario. In Quebec every citizen lived in suspense. "Many ladies" were "going to England," and the seigniories of Mount Murray and Murray Bay expected frightened friends. The French Canadians seemed restless. Traitorous meetings were held even at Murray Bay, under the watchful eye of Malcolm Fraser. He had several of the participants imprisoned on a charge of treason. The fighting along the St. Lawrence grew brisk. The American troops under General James Wilkinson slowly descended the river toward Montreal. Tom Nairne's regiment was detached to harass the invaders. In a skirmish, Tom was killed on November 11, 1813. At Murray Bay the tradition is still strong that at the exact hour of his death his mother, in the kitchen hearing a sound like a gun shot, threw up her hands and cried, "Tom is killed," and fainted into a chair.[15] The news of the death was conveyed to Judge Edward Bowen, an old friend of the Nairnes and Frasers. He communicated it to Malbaie. The blow fell hard on Malcolm Fraser. "I am not fit to write much," he confessed when he reported the death to Tom's friends in Scotland.[16] The young officer had written his godfather briefly before his end, that he hoped they would soon discuss the war "over a good bottle of your Madeira at Mount Murray." [17]

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[14] Malcolm Fraser to James Ker, October 10, 1811, in the possession of W. A. Gray, Seignior of Murray Bay, Malbaie, Canada. Appendix VIII.

[15] Wrong, *Canadian Manor,* p. 161.

The War of 1812 was brewing when Malcolm Fraser drew his will, on January 18, 1812. In his own handwriting, the seignior's will is fourteen pages long. Fearing lest he might die intestate he wrote four identical originals. One he gave to Mrs. Nairne at Murray Bay, one to Mr. John Cord of Quebec, one he deposited in his manor house, while he intended to carry the fourth with him, "wherever I go." [18] He recited that he was of "perfect memory" and provided for the customary payment of his debts and the disposition of his body. He understood the form for estates with remainders over, and used it in the case of Mount Murray. He left his farm to his son William, together with the furniture and "movable effects," all seigniorial rights, rents, mills, fisheries, or other privileges. In case of William's death, "without lawful issue," the farm should then go to his son John "without power to sell." He gave John another farm with "all the cattle and movable effects," and "all seigniorial rights and rents," also the "gristmill" and the "sawmills with all rents and all other rights." A remainder over to his son William followed, in case John died without "lawful issue," again without "power to sell." If William died also "without lawful issue" the heritage was to go to his son, and fourth child, Simon. Finally it was willed to Simon's two daughters, or to the survivor, without restrictions. Thus, the old soldier ran the gamut of trying to meet all contingencies in a manner smacking of legal knowledge.

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[16] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

[18] See copy and one-page photostat, Appendix II, no. 6.

The seignior left to his daughter Julienne £ 500, his grandson Alexander £ 300, and his daughter Anne £ 200. His grandsons, Dr. John and Dr. David McLoughlin, each received £ 200, his nephew Malcolm Grant £ 200, and his grandson Malcolm Fraser £ 200. Under the date of March 16, 1812, he added a codicil in which he recited that he "did not imagine" that any witnesses were necessary when the will was holographic, but finding it required, he wrote the codicil and named witnesses. There was considerable delay in perfecting the probate of his will. One witness testified on October 14, 1816, one on July 21, 1817, and one on October 22, 1821, although John McCord, the seignior's merchant friend of Quebec, filed the petition to probate the will on June 21, 1815. He stated that Malcolm Fraser had given him the will on June 12, 1812. The petition was filed before Judge Edward Bowen of the Kings Bench in Quebec, who opened and read it and, on June 21, 1815, let it go probate. Thomas Nairne was an executor named in the will.

The burial certificate recites that Malcolm Fraser died on June 16, 1815. He was buried four days later. One of the witnesses who signed the document was James Fisher, M.D., the physician under whom two of the seignior's grandsons had studied medicine – Dr. John McLoughlin from 1798 to 1803, and Dr. David McLoughlin from 1802 to 1807. The colonel was originally entombed in St. Matthews burying ground on St. John Street in Quebec. On September 25, 1862, his remains were transferred to Mount Hermon Cemetery at Sillery, section Q, lot 309. The lot is in the name of H. S. Forsyth. Today there is no monument, headstone, or tablet on this grave in the parish on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, a short distance above Quebec.[19]

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[19] Antoine Roy, Quebec Provincial Archivist, to Burt Brown Barker, August 20, 1953.

DR. SIMON FRASER

Malcolm Fraser's headstrong character did not tolerate equals in his family. In the presence of the seignior's commanding figure, his sons remained mere shadows. Several generations after the old soldier's death, only one of them, Dr. Simon Fraser, outranked the seignior in the family hierarchy. He was pivotal man in the collection of the family letters. These furnished the necessary light to illuminate the fading colors in the portraits of the Frasers and McLoughlins. The remnants of his considerable correspondence, presented in its entirety here for the first time, prove to be a more durable family monument than the unmarked grave of the old soldier in the Mount Hermon Cemetery at Sillery, near Quebec. Dr. Simon Fraser's counsel and devotion maintained the strength and the unity of the family. He came to represent the temporal link between Dr. John McLoughlin, on the Columbia, and Dr. David McLoughlin, on the Seine, and the family domain on the St. Lawrence River.

Dr. Simon Fraser was born on January 1, 1769, at Mount Murray, the fourth child of Malcolm Fraser and Marie Allaire. He probably received his education at home until the flourishing medical school of the University of Edinburgh attracted his interests. For two years, from 1787 to 1789, he studied anatomy, surgery, chemistry, and practical botany in the capital of his father's native land. He did not graduate when he left the university at the age of twenty. He joined the British army and was commissioned a lieutenant in the 42nd (Royal Highland) Regiment on July 1, 1795. His military record does not indicate when he entered the service, and gives no evidence about his activities between 1789, when he left the university, and 1795, when he received his commission. On March 13, 1801, he was wounded in Egypt, and went on half pay in the following year. Apparently he returned home, for he arranged Dr. John McLoughlin's apprenticeship contract with the North West Company in 1803. He probably had married and established himself at Terrebonne, near Montreal. Young John McLoughlin's petition to practice medicine dates from Terrebonne; the doctor might have written the application at his uncle's home.

From then on Dr. Simon Fraser figured prominently in Dr. John McLoughlin's affairs. In a constant stream of letters they exchanged news and ideas. At first their correspondence touched on medical books that Dr. John McLoughlin wanted, and medical cases the young physician was treating. Soon the doctor's younger brother David entered the correspondence. John and David had studied medicine together for one year under Dr. James Fisher. While John began to practice, David decided to continue his medical training at the University of Edinburgh, where his uncle Simon had studied. Dr. Simon Fraser seems to have been the boys' favorite adviser. Their father, John McLoughlin, a farmer of Rivière-du-Loup, tried to help but evidently was unable to be of any assistance. The problem was how to finance David's further education. The burden fell on the Frasers. The boy's maternal grandfather, Malcolm Fraser, and his oldest son, Alexander, viewed the project favorably but were unable to make any contribution to the expenses at the time. Dr. Simon Fraser remained the only one to help. Seemingly, he had prospered and possessed ready cash. He apparently furnished the funds that sent young David to Edinburgh.

David's medical education caused an irreconcilable break between Dr. Simon Fraser and his older brother Alexander. "I am sorry," Dr. John McLoughlin assured Dr. Simon Fraser, on August 12, 1811, that David "should be the cause of any disagreement arising between you and my uncle

Alexander." On March 22, 1812, in his letter to Dr. Fraser, he referred again to the quarrel. "I already observed to you the mortification It gave me that David should be the cause Innocently of any disagreement between you and my Uncle Alexander there is nothing so disagreeable as family dissentions Especially if publicly Known." Prior to the argument about David's medical studies, the feeling between Simon and Alexander was most friendly. Alexander, on July 20, 1808, addressed his brother "Dear Simon," and closed with "Yours most affectionately." This letter may have been the cause for the animosity between the brothers, because Alexander wrote that he had received a letter from David asking for money. Alexander suggested that Simon write David to draw on him for £ 100 and added, "then I will secure your repayment." He set "about May next," May 1809, as the date of repayment. Alexander gave the same assurance to his father.

The efforts to send money to David evidently did not materialize. The student was compelled to appeal for help to James Ker,[20] a banker in Leith near Edinburgh. Ker and one Fraser of Ford[21] advanced David £ 150. Dr. Simon Fraser repayed the £ 150, and Malcolm Fraser sent the money to James Ker on September 11, 1810. The sum was still not sufficient to meet all of David's expenses. The failure of his Canadian relatives to forward further funds brought David close to the debtor's prison. With £ 120 James Ker and Fraser of Ford came again to the student's rescue, and David drew a draft for that amount on his uncle Simon. Dr. Fraser met the draft. Thus he had advanced £ 270 to David in addition to the amount he gave him when the young man first sailed for Edinburgh.

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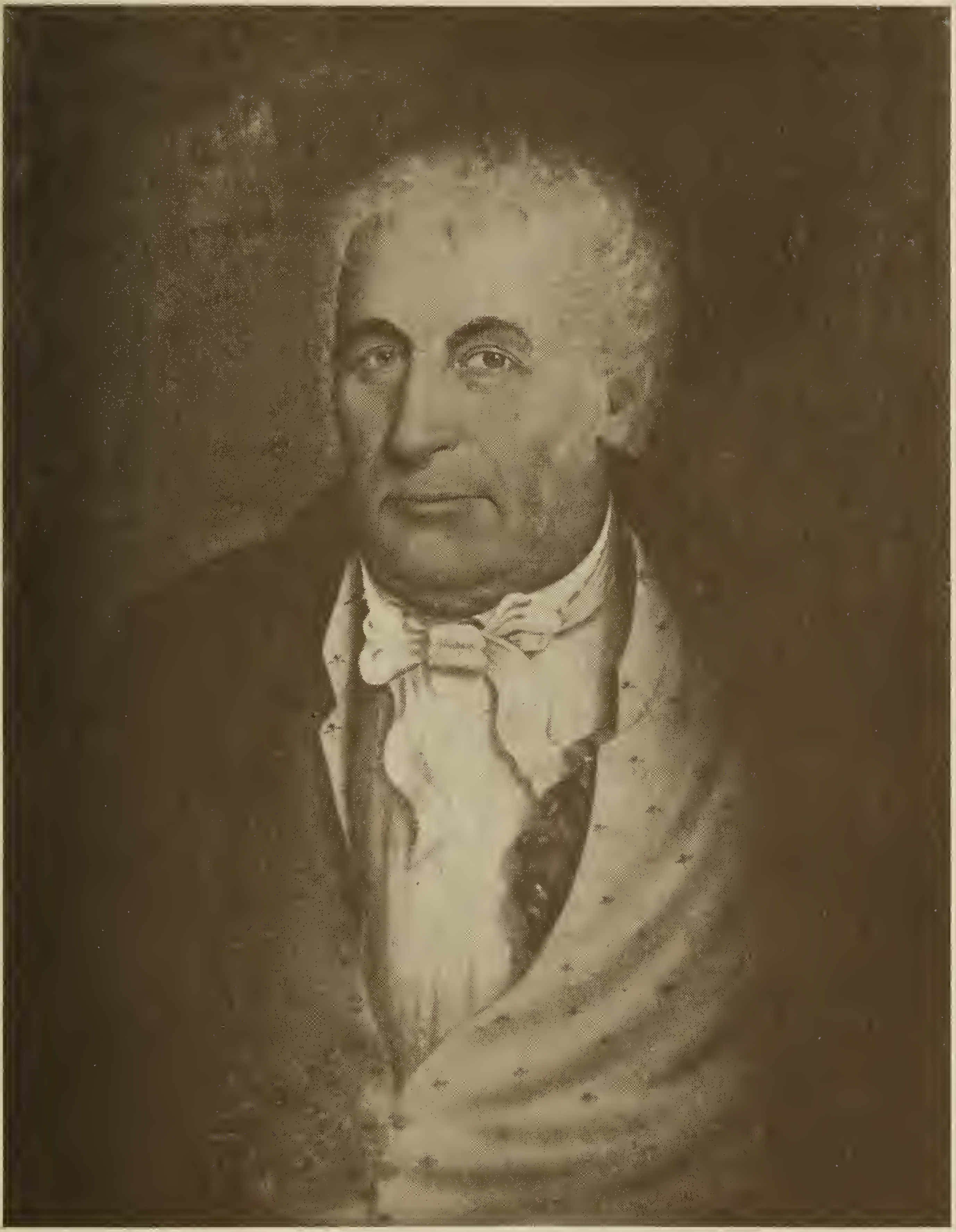
[20] James Ker, an Edinburgh banker, was "a wise, prudent, farseeing" man. He had married a niece of John Nairne, Seignior of Murray Bay, friend, and battle companion of Malcolm Fraser. Wrong, *Canadian Manor,* p. 126.

[21] Evidently a member of a branch of the Fraser clan in Scotland.



Doctor Simon Fraser

The uncle of Dr. John McLoughlin. From a portrait owned by Mrs. Alice Fraser Prevost. It now hangs in her home, the old manor house of the Seigniory of Rivière-du-Loup.

Obviously, Alexander failed to contribute the £ 100 he had promised to pay "about May" 1809.

"I am very well pleased," Colonel Malcolm Fraser wrote to his son Simon on March 9, 1812, "with the manner in which you seem to have settled Mr. Ker's draft on you as well as the several other sums you was so kind as to advance for David Macloughlin and as I flatter myself that Mr Fraser of Ford has received payment of your draft in his favour for £ 150. I hope as you do that there will be nearly sufficient to pay Doctor [David] McLoughlin's Creditor's in Edinburgh." Apparently alluding to his son Alexander, the seignior continued, "Indeed had a certain friend of yours and mine done his duty neither you nor I ought to have had so much trouble! and the poor young man needed not to have been exposed to so much want as I am afraid he has been. . ." Malcolm Fraser then offered to make amends and continued, "I send you inclosed or rather subjoined my Power to you to retain the annuity of £ 30. p annum, which you are bound to pay me, untill you are reimbursed £ 200. currency of the advances you have been so good as to make for Dr. [David] Macloughlin. . ." As evidence for his good faith he wrote and signed the assignment at the end of his letter.

The ill feeling between the Fraser brothers persisted. Alexander had confirmed it when he wrote to his nephew David on September 6, 1812, "with him [Dr. Simon Fraser] I hope I shall never again Correspond." He never did, so far as the family letters reveal. Naturally the quarrel was reflected in their respective families and continued by their children. Dr. John McLoughlin tried to heal the breach between the brothers' children as far as possible. In 1838, in Montreal, on his way to England he took time to write a letter to "Betsey," [Elisabeth] the twenty-three-year-old daughter of Alexander Fraser, and apparently to her younger brother William, and asked her to go with him to meet Dr. Simon Fraser, assuring her that her father's brother would receive her "with kindness." Knowing that her father and uncle had been on bad terms with each other, he admonished, "you ought not to be a party to such differences." Whether Elisabeth accepted this invitation and visited Dr. Fraser in the company of Dr. McLoughlin, is unknown. But four years later, on October 24, 1842, she married John Fraser of Berry, the only son of Dr. Simon Fraser, at Quebec. The death of Alexander Fraser, in 1837, doubtless made the reconciliation of the families easier.

The difficulties with David's finances so enmeshed Dr. Simon Fraser in the worries of the McLoughlins that he played an integral part in their affairs for the rest of his life. He contributed greatly to the education of Dr. John McLoughlin's children. His niece, Marie Louise, taught as Sister St. Henry in the convent of the Ursulines at Quebec. Her position in the monastery provided a possibility for the education of Marie Elisabeth, who remained with her aunt when Dr. John McLoughlin was transferred to the Columbia district. The frail girl never attempted to follow her parents to Fort Vancouver. But John, the oldest child, presented the real problem. He was finally put to school at Terrebonne under the care of his uncle, Dr. Simon Fraser.

Dr. John McLoughlin, at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia, could be of little assistance in the education of his children. It took the better part of two years to correspond with him from Montreal. The education of the boy and the girl remained Dr. Fraser's task. So far as John was concerned, it was the beginning of much grief, not only for Dr. Fraser but also for the other members of the family. The young man got finally completely out of hand and became a liability for his grand-uncle. He ran up unpaid bills and begged Dr. Fraser and his son John for additional money until his uncle, old and tired, wanted to wash his hands of him. Long after John had joined the adventurers of "General" James Dickson's filibustering expedition, there seemed to be no end of tribulations for Dr. Fraser. One lawyer requested money; John's roommate, and a confectioner presented bills. But Dr. Simon Fraser did not live to learn about John's end at the hands of his own men at Fort Stikine in April, 1842.

Following in the footsteps of his father, Dr. Simon Fraser who had become seignior of Clause, wrote duplicates of his will[22] before his end. "If I die at Terrebonne," the document read, "I wish to be buried on the Sandy Hill behind the Village the ground must be purchased, no religious ceremonies to be used, no priest or minister need attend my funeral." There is no indication that his intentions were respected. The burial certificate of Dr. Simon Fraser states that he died on February 20, 1844, and was buried at Mascouche, near Montreal, three days later. The document is signed by J. Torrance, a missionary, and the funeral is recorded in the register of the Protestant Episcopal church at Mascouche. Dr. Simon Fraser left his entire estate to his son John, but did provide that in case the son predeceased him, or died without issue or intestate, the heritage should go to his sister Angélique, the widow of Cultivateur John McLoughlin and the mother of Dr. John and Dr. David McLoughlin. One can easily speculate that Dr. Simon Fraser thought his father wrong when the old soldier made no provision in his will for his daughter Angélique, probably because she had married an Irish Catholic cultivateur.

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[22] See copy and one-page photostat, Appendix II, no. 8.

IV

Rulers of the McLoughlin Domain
Dr. David and Marie Louise

DR. DAVID McLOUGHLIN

Gifted children had already vindicated Angélique's marriage, before Dr. Simon Fraser registered in his will a belated protest against his headstrong father. John, David, and Marie Louise, three of Angélique's seven children, led the fortune of the family to its zenith. Dr. John McLoughlin occupied a dominating position in the Honorable Company's empire of the Columbia. From Quebec, as Sister St. Henry and Mother Superior of the Ursulines, Marie Louise McLoughlin protected and guided the core of the family land. Their achievements were yet overshadowed by David's spectacular medical career in Paris when he was granted the Legion of Honor, two years before Dr. Simon Fraser's death, "by virtue of his services as an English doctor," and finally when he became the physician to Louis Philippe, King of France.

The rise of Dr. John McLoughlin's younger brother to professional and social eminence on the Seine went hand in hand with a severe test of the family spirit. Frasers and McLoughlins, and Frasers and Frasers, quarreled for years over ways to finance David's medical studies. The young man was well prepared for the University of Edinburgh. Born in Rivière-du-Loup on August 28, 1786, the second son of John and Angélique McLoughlin, he had gone to school in Quebec. At the age of sixteen, he began to study medicine under Dr. James Fisher, the noted Quebec surgeon, who had already, between 1798 and 1803, introduced his older brother John into the Aesculapian secrets. David served an apprenticeship of five years, from 1802 to 1807.[1] Both brothers must have studied together with Dr. Fisher during the year 1802-03.

A continuation of David's medical training was first considered by the Frasers, his maternal relatives. A letter from David to his uncle Alexander Fraser, on August 20, 1807, reveals that his other uncle, Dr. Simon Fraser, had offered to pay one third of David's educational expenses and shown the willingness to advance £ 100. Apparently David had asked Alexander for a similar contribution. This uncle, taking offense at being asked, refused. The purchase of the seigniory of Rivière-du-Loup, with the assistance of his father, had strained his financial resources. He even lacked the money for an education of his son Alexander, and had to apprentice the young man in the fur trade. The letters do not reveal who finally paid David's passage money to Edinburgh in the fall of 1807. The argument as to whom to look for the money caused a rift between Simon and Alexander which was never closed, and Seignior Malcolm Fraser had clearly indicated that he was unable to help.[2]

The summer following his arrival, David was in financial trouble. He appealed to his uncle Alexander for help. This might look as if his Uncle Simon had financed his trip to Edinburgh. Alexander in turn asked Simon to advance the money, saying "I will secure your repayment." [3]

On July 16, 1808 Dr. John McLoughlin's salary was raised to £ 200 per year. In August he came to the rescue and expressed his intention to help his younger brother by asking his uncle Simon to send David the £ 100 that he had arranged to draw in advance from his salary. Grandfather Malcolm Fraser related to his son Simon that he had received a letter from David, asking for funds and lamenting that "he is in a strange land without friends or money." [4] The old soldier urged Simon to send David £ 30 at least, and £ 50 if possible, indicating he would repay him, as Alexander had recently asked him to raise £ 100 for David. Simon finally sent £ 100 in the winter of 1809. Malcolm Fraser, writing to James Ker of the Leith Bank near Edinburgh, confirmed the transmittal, as did Dr. John McLoughlin's letter to his uncle Simon. On June 27, 1810, Dr. John McLoughlin wrote to his uncle Simon again and asked him to send David £ 100 "if he needs it," promising to see that Dr. Fraser was reimbursed out of his [Dr. McLoughlin's] account with the North West Company in Montreal. Apparently this money was not sent, or, if so, it had not been received, with the result that, in 1810, James Ker and Fraser of Ford advanced David £ 150. On September 11, 1810, Malcolm Fraser forwarded a draft for £ 150 to James Ker. He felt that David had been extravagant and spent more money than his relatives anticipated; the seignior hoped that this experience would be a lesson to the young man. Obviously the transmitted money was not from the seignior. He had previously made it clear that he could not raise even ten dollars and had "to keep out of sight." It could have been partly the money which Dr. John McLoughlin had sent earlier to his uncle Simon. The letter hinted that another £ 100 was expected daily and would be immediately forwarded. This money seems not to have reached the student either, and the year 1811 found David still in trouble. On April 22 Ker again wrote Malcolm Fraser that he and Fraser of Ford had advanced an additional £ 120 to David to relieve the young man from pressing debts.[5] As payment, David had given the banker a draft on Dr. Simon Fraser for £ 120. This draft Dr. Fraser honored. David's father, fearing lest Dr. Fraser might refuse it, planned to have it honored by John McCord, his Quebec merchant friend. He felt that Simon had been pushed rather hard, while he himself was in no position to pay. Notifying the old soldier of his latest advance to David, James Ker, on April 3, 1811, exonerated the student from the colonel's charge of being extravagant, explaining,

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[1] Dr. David McLoughlin's Return of Services and Professional Education, September 9, 1818, Public Records Office, London. See photostat, Appendix II, no. 7.

[2] Malcolm Fraser to Dr. Simon Fraser, September 26, 1808.

[3] Alexander Fraser to Dr. Fraser, July 20, 1808.

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[4] Malcolm Fraser to Dr. Fraser, September 26, 1808.

> His uncles have not sent him a Shilling for a great length of time & knowing him to be a good, studious young man, neither given to extravagance nor dissipation, but cruelly embarrassed & disappointed by the non-arrival of his uncles' long promised Remittances, Mr. Fraser & I found that if we did not immediately relieve him of some pressing debts, he run a risk of being thrown into Jail.

At the University of Edinburgh David studied anatomy, surgery, chemistry, clinical surgery, practice of medicine, principles and practice of surgery, anatomy and surgery, dissection, botany, and internal medicine. He took two classes in midwifery. Most of the courses lasted for six months and were given by twelve different instructors. In 1807-08 David served an internship of one year in the Edinburgh Hospital. He received a diploma as surgeon from the College of Surgeons of Edinburgh on March 20, 1809, and a degree of medicine from the University of Edinburgh on June 24, 1810. The title of his thesis was "De Animi Auxilio." As a result of his relatives' failure to forward money, David was detained in Edinburgh after his graduation until May 9, 1811, when he passed his examination before the Army Medical Board and received his commission as Hospital Mate Senior Service in the British forces. He went into service at Portsmouth where he remained until his embarkation for Portugal in June 1811.

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[5] James Ker to Malcolm Fraser, April 22, 1811; in the possession of J. A. Gray, Malbaie, Canada, Appendix VIII.

He was appointed Assistant Surgeon of the 61st Regiment of Foot on September 3, 1812.[6]

The South Gloucestershire Regiment of Foot formed part of the Duke of Wellington's army in Spain. In October, 1812, the 61st Regiment participated in the siege of the Castle of Burgos. In the following year, on July 28, 1813, the men fought in the battle of the Pyrenees; on November 10, in the battle of Nivelle; and within a month, on December 9, in the battle of Nive. Ten weeks later, on February 27, 1814, the regiment took part in the fighting at Orthez. The long struggle between Wellington and Napoleon's marshals over Spain was coming to a hectic end. On March 1, 1814, the 61st Regiment stood at Tarbes, on the next day at Granada, and on April 10 experienced its final encounter of the Peninsular War in the battle of Toulouse. Eight days later, on April 18, 1814, an agreement for the suspension of arms was signed and the fight for Spain terminated.

David's regiment had been in six battles in less than three years. This campaign doubtless gave him considerable surgical practice and medical experience. At the close of the war, his regiment was stationed at Bordeaux on the Garonne until June 30, 1814, when it was sent to Ireland and disbanded.[7] In October, 1814, David, still an assistant surgeon, was "gazetted" to the 100th Regiment of Foot. In July, 1815, he was appointed assistant staff surgeon. David signed his Return of Services and Professional Education, covering the period between 1807 and 1818, as assistant staff surgeon at Pont de Brigne, Headquarters Cavalry Division, on September 9, 1818. He remained on full pay until January 24, 1819. He then went on half pay until he retired from service on January 24, 1824. No letters written by David during the Peninsular War have come to hand. News of his enlistment had reached his relatives in Canada. Nevertheless, his grandfather complained, on November 10, 1812, that the only person who had heard from him was Alexander Fraser, who reported that he had received a letter from David and a payment on account, of his advance to David's expenses in Edinburgh. This is the only reference which indicates that David made repayments; he must have had special reasons for reimbursing his uncle Alexander.

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[6] Dr. David McLoughlin's Return of Services, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Historical Record of the Sixty-First or, South Gloucestershire Regiment of Foot* . . . (London, 1844), Public Records Office.

France was undergoing the social readjustment of the Bourbon Restoration when David began to seek his fortune across the Channel. In 1820 he was in Boulogne-sur-Mer. At least Colin Robertson dined with him there in January 1821. Dr. David McLoughlin "bears a strong resemblance to our friend [Dr. John McLoughlin]," Robertson commented after the meeting, "but it is a polished likeness. What an astonishing difference a little intercourse with the world makes in a man's manners! Dr. McL. is an elegant, gentlemanly young man, stands high at this place, and seems to be a great favourite with the good folks of Boulogne." [8] On February 21, 1821, in Boulogne, David gave his brother John, power-of-attorney to act for him in a partition proceeding in Rivière-du-Loup on July 30, 1821.[9] Dr. John McLoughlin had probably visited his brother from London, where he had witnessed the absorption of the North West Company by the Hudson's Bay Company in March, 1821.

In the French seaport on the strait, Dr. David McLoughlin encountered the decisive case of his medical career. A woman was to be delivered of child. The prognosis of the attending French physicians indicated that she could not give birth without taking the life of the child. When Dr. McLoughlin was consulted, he suggested that he could deliver the woman safely. In the end he saved the life of both mother and the child. On March 19, 1826, Dr. John McLoughlin stated that this difficult obstetrical case "first brought" his brother "into notice in Boulogne." He added that the patient's family "seemed most anxious to show by their polite attention to me their regard for him."

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[8] E[dwin]. E[rnest]. Rich (ed.), *Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book, September 1817, to September 1822* (London, 1939), 148, printed as *Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society*, II, and simultaneously as a *Publication of the Champlain Society.*

[9] Abstract of title in the possession of Burt Brown Barker.

The mother was Mrs. Algernon Greville, the daughter of Lord and Lady Lake.[10] She had two children, a son and a daughter. The letter does not indicate which one was delivered by David. Algernon Greville was the brother-in-law of Lord Combermere, who had distinguished himself during the Napoleonic Wars in Spain as a commander of Wellington's cavalry. Obviously Dr. David McLoughlin, through this case, had ingratiated himself into titled English families. This success probably contributed decisively to the unusually rapid progress of his medical career in Paris. Dr. John McLoughlin reports in his letter of March 19, 1826, that John Halket, a member of the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, visited his brother on the Seine and related that he was apparently doing well. "David's practice," another friend, M. Daily, confided to Dr. John McLoughlin, "is as extensive amongst the French as the English."

In his letter of March 19, 1826, Dr. John McLoughlin enclosed copies of correspondence between David, the Duke of York,[11] and Sir James McGrigor,[12] which his younger brother had sent him. These copies are not preserved with the family letters; they have not been located. The subject of the dispute involved is unknown. In his letter Dr. John McLoughlin explained that Algernon Greville told him, "Sir James McGregor had a pique against my Brother." By this time, David must have been so well acquainted with the Duke of York that he could ask the second son of George III to arbitrate his dispute with Sir James. The Duke, "with great reluctance," came to a conclusion that seemed to vindicate David. In the absence of the copies of the correspondence, one may indulge in that questionable but highly delightful sport of editors and speculate about the nature of the quarrel. Sir James, the director general of the medical department of the British army, extraordinary physician to the king, and fifteen years David's senior, may have been piqued because the assistant staff surgeon was unwilling to return to his army duties under Sir James on February 25, 1824. On the bottom of David's Return of Services is a statement that David was "gazetted to Full Pay, 25th Jany. 1824, and ordered to Chatham for duty – Refused to obey that order – Dismissed His Majesty's Service for a gross breach of discipline and disobedience of the order of His Royal Highness The Commander in Chief dated 13, May 1824." David must have had a strong case in his fight with Sir James McGrigor that enabled him to maneuver the Duke into the unpleasant position of an arbiter.

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[10] Caroline, the second daughter of Sir Bellingham Graham and his wife Priscilla, married Algernon Greville (1791-1857) in December, 1813. Francis Gerard Lake (1772-1836), second Viscount Lake of Delhi and Leswaree, on January 1, 1800, had married her mother Priscilla, the oldest daughter of Sir Charles Whitworth and widow of Sir Bellingham Graham. *Burke's Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage,* (99th ed., London, 1849.)

David's relations to the Grevilles became so friendly that Lady Lake, one evening, in discussing marriage with the physician, suggested to David that if "he would put it off so long, no Lady would have him." The date of this friendly banter, recorded by Dr. John McLoughlin in one of his letters, is not known. But David appears to have construed Lady Lake's advice that no "Lady" would have him, to mean no "Lady" of the peerage. Accordingly, and also as if to confound his banterer, at the age of forty-seven, in November, 1833, he married Lady Jane Capel, sister of the Earl of Essex, whom Dr. David named as the executor of his will. David's marriage into the powerful family of the Earl of Essex certainly did not lessen the tension between the successful physician and Sir James McGrigor. Add to this his position as a court physician of King Louis Philippe of France,[13] and possibly you have added fuel to the flame.

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[11] Frederick Augustus, Duke of York and Albany (1763-1827), the second son of George III.

[12] Sir James McGrigor (1771-1858), first Baronet of Camden Hill, director general of the medical department of the British army, physician extraordinary to the king, and fellow of the colleges of physicians of London and Edinburgh.

David was well established in Paris; the army life offered no attraction for him. He had been in Paris for nine years when the July Revolution drove the Bourbons from the throne and installed Louis Philippe. There is hardly any documentary evidence to throw much light on David's life in Paris; none of his letters was found. But young John McLoughlin who studied medicine in Paris under his uncle's tutelage, did write from the Seine and report the accomplishments of his uncle. In one of his letters, on May 18, 1832, John boasted of having attended a party given by Louis Philippe, during which the king addressed his young guest. He hinted that he expected an invitation to the royal palace. His boyish vaunts suggest at least his uncle's powerful social position. Considering David's rise one must bear in mind that he was a foreigner of low birth, born in Canada of an Irish Catholic father and a mother who was of Scotch and French Canadian descent. In the absence of documentary evidence one may presume that his achievements were due to his medical attainments. Doubtless he

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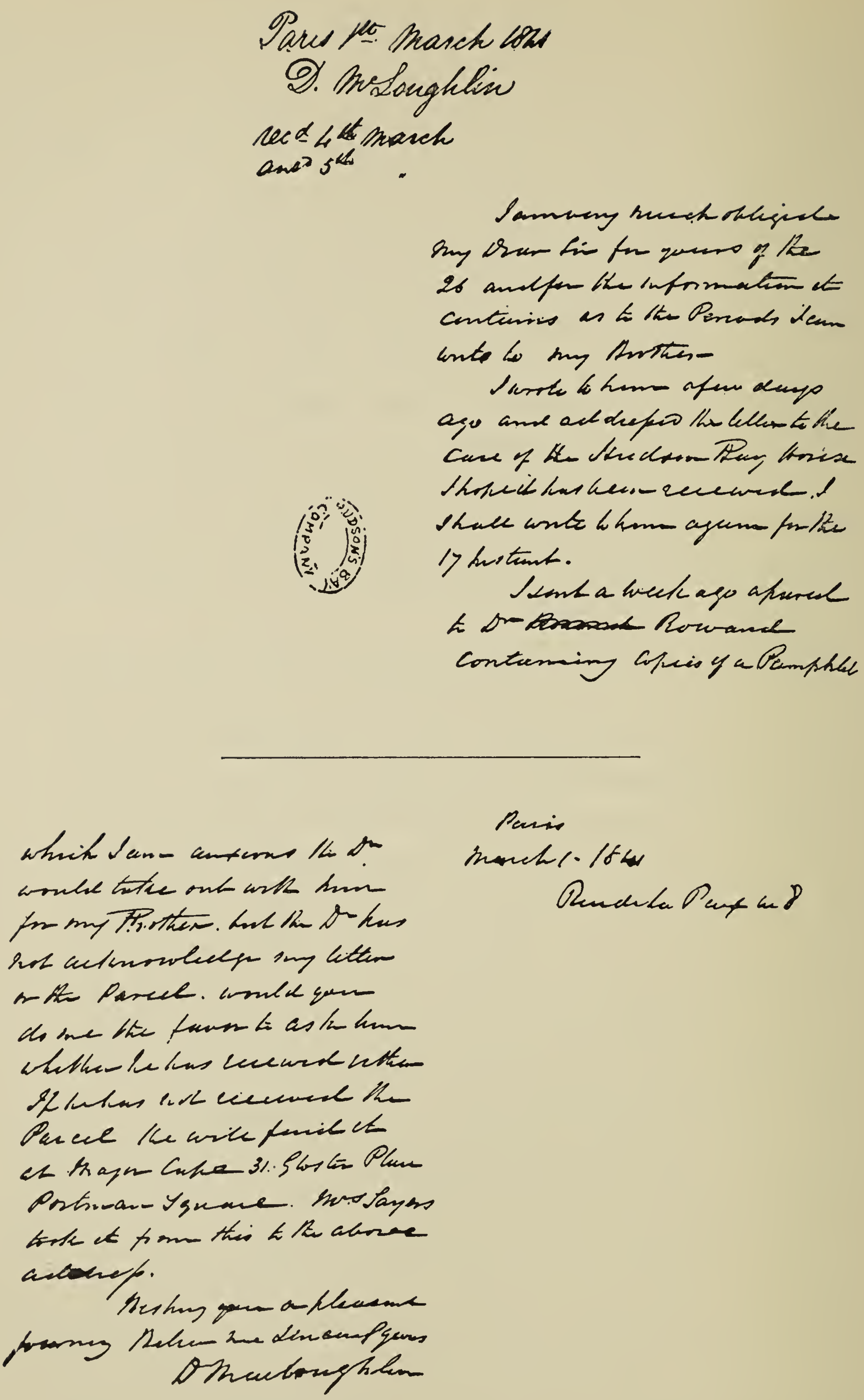
[13] "Conquered and United by Faith. McLoughlin-Fraser," *Album Historique,* p. 67. Also *Almanach Royal – 1830-1850,* (Paris).



Paris 1st March 1841
D. McLoughlin
recd 4th March
ansd 5th

I am very much obliged to my Dear Sir for yours of the 26 and for the information it contains as to the Periods I can write to my Brother—

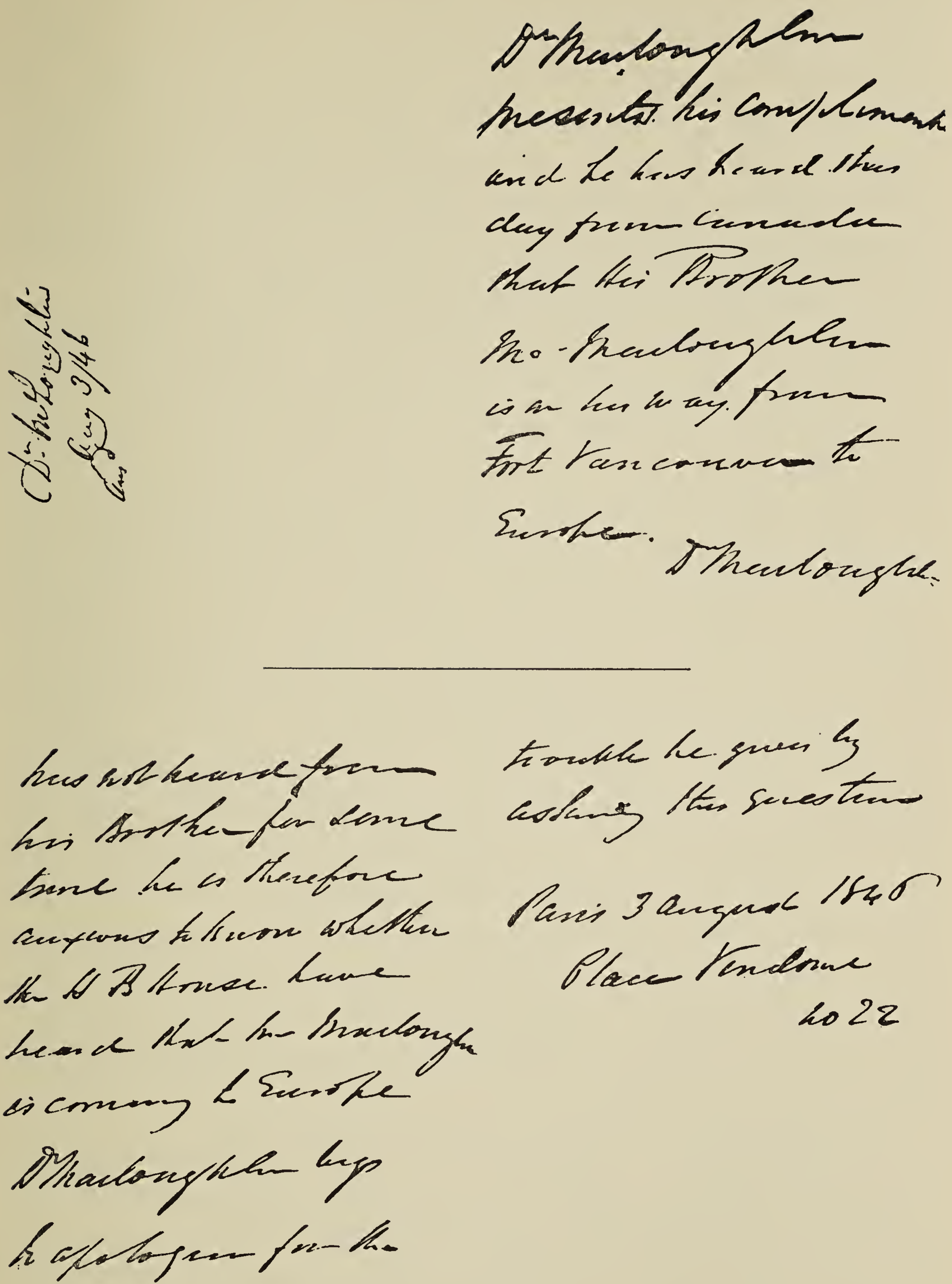
I wrote to him a few days ago and addressed the letter to the care of the Hudson Bay House I hope it has been received. I shall write to him again for the 17 instant.

I sent a week ago a parcel to Dr ~~Rowand~~ Rowand containing Copies of a Pamphlet which I am anxious the Dr would take out with him for my Brother. but the Dr has not acknowledge my letter or the Parcel. would you do me the favor to ask him whether he has received either If he has not received the Parcel he will find it at Major Cape 31. Gloster Place Portman Square. Mr Sayers took it from this to the above address.

Wishing you a pleasant journey Believe me sincerely yours
D McLoughlin

Paris
March 1. 1841
Rue de la Paix no 8

LETTER OF DR. DAVID MCLOUGHLIN, MARCH 1, 1841
From the inward correspondence of Sir George Simpson in London, and probably received by him on board the "Caledonia" as he departed for his journey round the world. H.B.C. Arch. D. 5/6, fo. 81. Courtesy of the Hudson's Bay Company.



Dr. Macloughlin
presents his compliments
and he has heard this
day from Canada
that his Brother
Mr. Macloughlin
is on his way from
Fort Vancouver to
Europe. D Macloughlin

Dr. McLoughlin
Aug 3/46

has not heard from
his Brother for some
time he is therefore
anxious to know whether
the H B House have
heard that Mr Macloughlin
is coming to Europe
D Macloughlin begs
to apologise for the
trouble he gives by
asking this question

Paris 3 August 1846
Place Vendome
No 22

Letter of Dr. David McLoughlin, August 3, 1846
From the London Inward Correspondence: H.B.C. Arch. A. 10/22, fo. 108.
Courtesy of the Hudson's Bay Company.

had been given a good start by the unusual delivery of Mrs. Algernon Greville. His elevation among the court physicians of Louis Philippe further emphasized his advance. Add to this success his intimacy with the Duke of York and his marriage to Lady Jane Capel, sister of the Earl of Essex, and one can perceive the position which Dr. David McLoughlin must have occupied in the social circles of the French capital and among the British nobility.

Louis Philippe's reign of mediocrity was far from being monotonous. Attempts were made on the king's life, although he never hesitated to appear in public. However, his exposed position gave his physicians much cause for anxiety. In 1832 Paris experienced the great wave of cholera that scourged Europe. During the early months of 1838 the Princess of Württemberg, a daughter of the king, gave birth to a child of unusual size, a great concern for the family. One can easily guess that Dr. David McLoughlin was among the attending physicians, due to his reputation from Boulogne. In July, 1842, came the greatest grief that befell the royal family. The Duc d'Orleans, the oldest son of the king and the legitimate heir to the throne, was thrown from his carriage and sustained a skull fracture while hastening from the Tuileries to his chateau of Villiers, near Neuilly. King and queen went immediately to the little market where the popular prince had been carried. He lived six more hours and died, despite all efforts of the physicians to save him.

During his residence in Paris, David was granted the Legion of Honor on August 15, 1842, "by virtue of his service as an English doctor."[14] The directories of the French capital show that he resided in the following year at 8 Rue de la Paix. In the next year he is registered at Rue de Lille 31 ter. The record for 1846 reads, "MacLoughlin (David) Medicine, Place Vendome, 22." The directory for 1848 lists, "MacLoughlin (David) Medical-legal consultations on some signs of true paralysis and on their relative value – Place Vendome 22 – from 11 a.m. to noon." He must have attained an enviable position in his profession, that he could limit his consultations to one hour per day.

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[14] *Fiche* in the Chancellery of the Legion of Honor, Paris. W. Kaye Lamb to Burt Brown Barker, June 16, 1954. See also Paris Directories, 1843ff.

In 1841 Dr. David McLoughlin published his first book in his special field, *Consultation médico-légale sur quelques signes de paralysie vraie et sur leur valeur relative* (Paris, 1841). A *deuxième édition* appeared four years later. Additionally, the *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Nationale* lists the following publications: *On the Premonitory Symptoms of Cholera* (London, 1855), and *Result of an Inquiry into the Invariable Existence of a Premonitory Diarrhoea in Cholera, in a series of communications to the registrar-general* (2nd ed., London, 1854). The *Catalogue of the British Museum* furnishes these titles: *Letter to His Grace the Duke of Somerset, . . . relative to the question, Is there a Syphilitic Virus?* (London, 1864); *Pathological Facts. Respectfully Submitted to the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to enquire as to the means for the prevention of contagious diseases in certain naval and military stations* (London, 1864); *Proofs of the Non-existence of a Specific Enthetic Disease. Addressed to the Secretary of State for War* (London, 1863), 2nd and 3rd editions, 1864; *Result of an Inquiry, whether Cholera can be Conveyed by Human Intercourse, from an infected to a healthy locality; or from an infected to a healthy person* (London, 1856). In 1842, Dr. Adolph Carl Peter Callisen published in Copenhagen a medical reference dictionary.[15]

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[15] Adolph Carl Peter Callisen, *Medicinisches Schriftsteller-Lexicon der jetzt lebenden Aerzte, Wundaerzte, Geburtshelfer, Apotheker, und Naturforscher aller gebildeten Voelker,* 33 vols. (Copenhagen, 1830-45), XXX, p. 175.

It refers to Dr. David McLoughlin of Paris, authorized to practice medicine in France on May 30, 1820. It lists Dr. McLoughlin as a member of the *Société de Statistique Universelle.*

No records have come to light that show when David left Paris and went to London. His name does not appear in the directories after 1848. He might have left the French capital during the February Revolution that drove his benefactor, Louis Philippe, to England. David's wife died on November 2, 1849, apparently in London. No evidence of the birth of children has been found. The London post office directories list David's name first in 1850, as physician at 30 Brook Street. In 1853 he lived at 7 Chapel Place, Cavendish Square. From 1854 to 1866 he practiced at 34 Bruton Street, W., and in 1859 qualified for the membership in the Royal College of Physicians. In 1867 his address changed to 36 Bruton Street. He died at 22 Maddox Street, February 26, 1870. Cause of death – senile decay. There are no indications that he ever visited his native Canada.

In the Old World Dr. David McLoughlin achieved that fair amount of success of which Dr. John McLoughlin might have dreamed. In Paris and London he enjoyed the social prestige that his older brother so eagerly sought. Yet, judged from their innermost qualities, both brothers seem to lose their dominant position among the Frasers and McLoughlins to their sister Marie Louise, the Sister St. Henry and the Mother Superior of the Quebec Ursulines. Her mind, ever superior to her own or her brothers' exterior endowments, was possessed of the rare talent of prudence and justice.

MARIE LOUISE McLOUGHLIN

Marie Louise McLoughlin was born at Rivière-du-Loup on August 28, 1780, and baptised on September 10, 1780, at Kamouraska. When she was six years old, she visited for the first time her maternal grandfather, Seignior Malcolm Fraser, at Malbaie. The aging soldier was so charmed with her childish attractions that he insisted on keeping her at his manor house. Being a Scotch Presbyterian, he brought her up in his faith. But the child's grandmother was a Catholic,[16] and in time the young girl entered the Ursuline convent in Quebec as a boarder. She decided to become a Catholic, over the violent protests of her maternal grandfather. The Abbé Philippe Desjardins, a French exile, at the time chaplain of the Hôtel Dieu, served as her religious instructor. With the consent of her parents, but against the wishes of Malcolm Fraser, she took the veil on February 27, 1798. In the ceremony a bishop administered the sacrament of confirmation. The rare honor remained an event of particular significance in her eyes. Two years later, in 1800, at the age of twenty, she pronounced her final vows, again crossing the intentions of Seignior Fraser.

Marie Louise became one of the first teachers of English in the convent. The language was in great demand due to the large influx of English-speaking Catholics. Among other subjects, she taught geography. Her brothers, Dr. John and Dr. David McLoughlin, provided her with globes, maps, and a celestial sphere as visual aids for her classes, with the result that her courses were the most popular in the school. Dr. David McLoughlin sent the latest and newest equipment from Paris. To interest their sister's pupils in the English language, the McLoughlin brothers collected also useful and intriguing games that could be played only by those who knew the language. Naturally, this increased the popularity of the teacher. But from Paris came also plays for the French classes, that guaranteed her another group of enthusiastic pupils.

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[16] *Glimpses of the Monastery*, p. 357.

Marie Louise took the name of Sister St. Henry and soon became one of the best known teachers of the Quebec Ursulines. She seems to have been of a cheerful disposition that made it easy for her to get along with her students. Her former tutor, the Abbé Desjardins, teased Sister St. Henry, in a letter from Paris, about her happy nature when he advised "Sister St. Augustine to try to prevent Sister St. Henry from Laughing." [17] Soon she was appointed Mother Mistress, with the obligation of directing others in their religious duties. From the novitiate she was called to the depository and then, as Mother Superior St. Henry, to take charge of the convent. For more than a quarter of a century she held these high offices alternately.

The chronicle of the Quebec Ursulines described her work thus:

> Her zeal in the instruction of youth, her enlightened views of education, her numerous friends in the highest ranks of society as well as among the clergy, the concurrence of her devoted brothers, the Doctors McLoughlin, in all her plans, and their generosity in sending her from Paris, where one of them resided, whatever would be useful to her in the schools, such were some of the peculiar circumstances that rendered her administration a double blessing to the community in the important labors assigned to her direction as mother Superior.[18]

Sister St. Henry's position and her work in the monastery did not cut her off entirely from her family. Her relatives' children represented a strong link between the convent and the world. Dr. John McLoughlin placed his daughters Elisabeth and Eloisa under her care. "I had the pleasure of seeing his [Dr. John McLoughlin's] sister and Daughter

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[17] *Ibid.*, p. 361.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 361-362.

[Elisabeth] while at Quebec," Governor George Simpson wrote from Lachine on November 17, 1826, "and was happy to find that the Young Lady had made great progress in the different branches of Education to which her attention has been directed; she is extremely fortunate in having been placed under the care and protection of a lady so well qualified to store and improve her young mind."

Sister St. Henry was consulted by her relatives in important family affairs. She was always ready to pour oil on the troubled waters. In some instances she served as intermediary, as in the case of Alexander and Simon Fraser, the seignior's sons who, since Dr. David McLoughlin's graduation from the University of Edinburgh, were no longer on speaking terms. Alexander was eager for his brother Simon to supervise the medical studies of David Michaud, a nephew of Dr. John McLoughlin. Since he could hardly contact Dr. Simon Fraser himself, he prevailed on Sister St. Henry to write to Simon on behalf of the young man. Simon's reply to her letter of June 17, 1835, has not yet been discovered, but it is known that he refused to see David Michaud. Young John McLoughlin later tried his hand in the affair. On August 28, 1835, he wrote to John Fraser, the only son of Dr. Simon, that David Michaud, at the request of Alexander, was soon to present a letter of introduction to Dr. Simon Fraser, signed by Grandmother Fraser. John McLoughlin pointed out that Alexander had practically forced his mother to sign the note knowing well that "your father will show him the door." Dr. Simon Fraser had already refused to see the young man, at Sister St. Henry's request.

In another letter, on May 11, 1835, Sister St. Henry wrote to Dr. Simon Fraser and asked him not to send young John McLoughlin to Rivière-du-Loup. She explained that Alexander was too infirm to control the wild youth and that her mother, Angélique McLoughlin, had grown blind and unable to walk alone and "would die of sadness, to see that child run wild in the country." Her request came after John had been sent home from Paris by his uncle David, allegedly because of his extravagant habits, and had led a spendthrift life in Montreal. Accordingly she begged Dr. Fraser to place the young man at some estate near Montreal and pleaded not to abandon him as he "would fall from excesses to excesses."

One notes an unusual filial tenderness on the part of Sister St. Henry toward her mother. When her daughter wrote this letter, Angélique Fraser McLoughlin was old and frail. Her great-granddaughter, Sister St. Thomas d'Aquin, knew her also in her last years and described her as follows:

> I had the privilege, as a child, of knowing Mrs. McLaughlin Sr. Of medium height, her shoulders were never bent by the weight of her years. Her face still carried traces of a beauty that time had not eradicated. Towards her family and friends she was remarkably affable. Mrs. McLaughlin devoted the period of her widowhood to good works.[19]

Little wonder that Sister St. Henry was so solicitous of her mother and that Dr. McLoughlin was so thoughtful and generous to her.

The chronicler tells of the joys of Mother St. Henry. In 1833 the convent celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of a former Mother Superior. The Bishop offered the Holy Sacrifice, then entoned the Te Deum, the numerous clergy filled the sanctuary with its answer, the thirty-choir of nuns responded and then came the procession and "Mother St. Henry, the beloved Superior, leads the way to the new hall St. Ursula, which had been decked in festal style and is filled with the bright and happy faces of the pupils, who welcome their guests to the sound of gay music." [20]

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[19] "Conquered and United by Faith. McLoughlin-Fraser" *Album Historique,* p. 67.

[20] *Glimpses of the Monastery,* p. 393.

Mother St. Henry's life in the convent also had its times of excitement. On January 12, 1834 a fire broke out in a building of the monastery. It was discovered at 2 a.m. The convent bell sounded, nuns and pupils dressed hurriedly, the fire engines rushed to the scene. Snow covered the well house – it was hurriedly scraped away and the fire engine went to work. Nuns were running to protect the children. The Colonel in command had awakened his troops and they came double quick to hold back the crowds for the whole city was at the gate; the city officials were at the guarded conventional door for it was a cloistered monastery – and in all that turmoil the chronicler says: "Mother St. Henry, calm and self possessed in the midst of the confusion, promptly appeared, and the messenger delivered to her an open letter. It was a pressing invitation on the part of Lord and Lady Aylmer for the nuns to accept a refuge in the castle." [21]

On the 12th of January 1835 following the fire of the preceding year, the convent again celebrated. This time it is to give recognition to the work of Mother St. Henry. Again the chronicler writes:

> It was the *féte,* by anticipation, of the beloved Mother St. Henry, Superior of the community, and now in her fourth triennial term of office. Mother St. Henry has just passed the meridian of life, and for the last quarter of a century has had no respite from the responsibilities of government either in managing the temporal affairs as depositary, or the direction of the house as Superior. Yet is her countenance radiant with smiles, as her eyes rest with motherly affection on the numerous family confided by Divine Providence to her solicitude and direction. Today, however, the Superior's feast receives its chief eclat from its concurrence with other joyous celebrations for this twelfth of July is also occasion of a diamond jubilee.[22]

After a long and fruitful life Mother St. Henry succumbed to a painful malady on July 3, 1846. The Quebec *Gazette* paid her the following tribute:

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[21] *Ibid.,* pp. 397-8.

[22] *Ibid.,* p. 403.

> Died, on Friday, the third instant, at the Convent of the Ursulines of Quebec, Rev. Mother St. Henry (Mary Louisa McLoughlin) at the age of sixty-six years. During the long period of forty-six years of religious profession, she filled at various times the office of Superior of the community, with that rare talent, prudence and justice which merited for her the highest confidence and esteem. She will be long and deeply regretted, not only by the citizens of Quebec, of every class and nationality, who have so often rendered homage to her virtues and fine qualities, but also by all those strangers who have had occasion to visit that estimable institution, none of whom ever went away without expressing the highest admiration for the noble manners and the interesting conversation of this amiable lady.[23]

At the time of her death, three nieces, daughters of her married sisters, had become nuns. Four had studied under her guidance, but one had passed on about four years previously. Those living in the convent to mourn her death were Mothers Josephine Michaud of St. Cecile, Marie Talbot of St. Margaret, and Emilie Dechène of St. François de Borgia. Thus one daughter of each of Mother St. Henry's sisters had followed her into the convent.[24]

A portrait of Mother St. Henry, commissioned by her brother Dr. John McLoughlin, hangs in the convent. The chronicle explains:

> Mother St. Henry's portrait is one of the few we have the good fortune to possess of our former Superiors. It was executed by an

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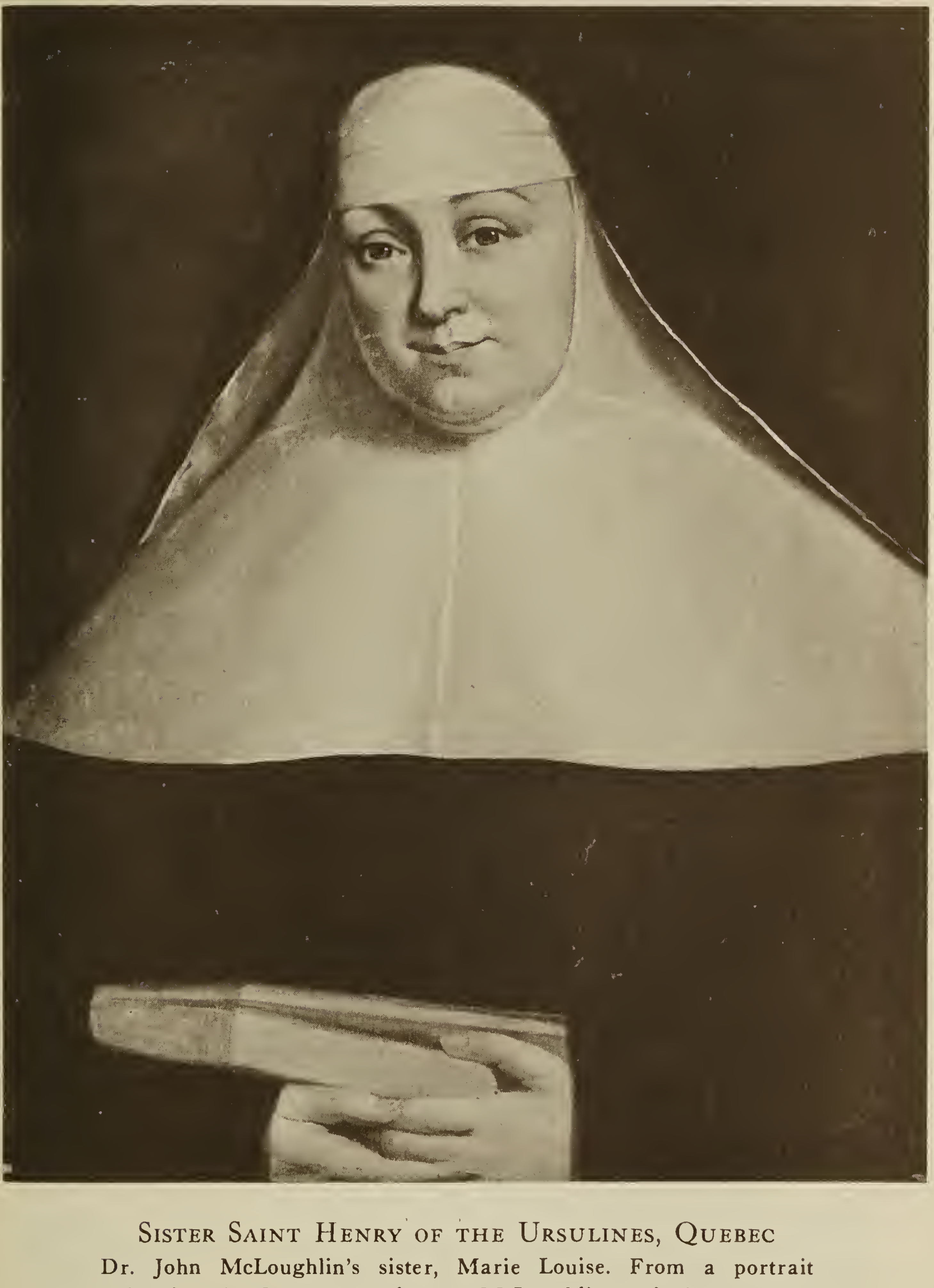
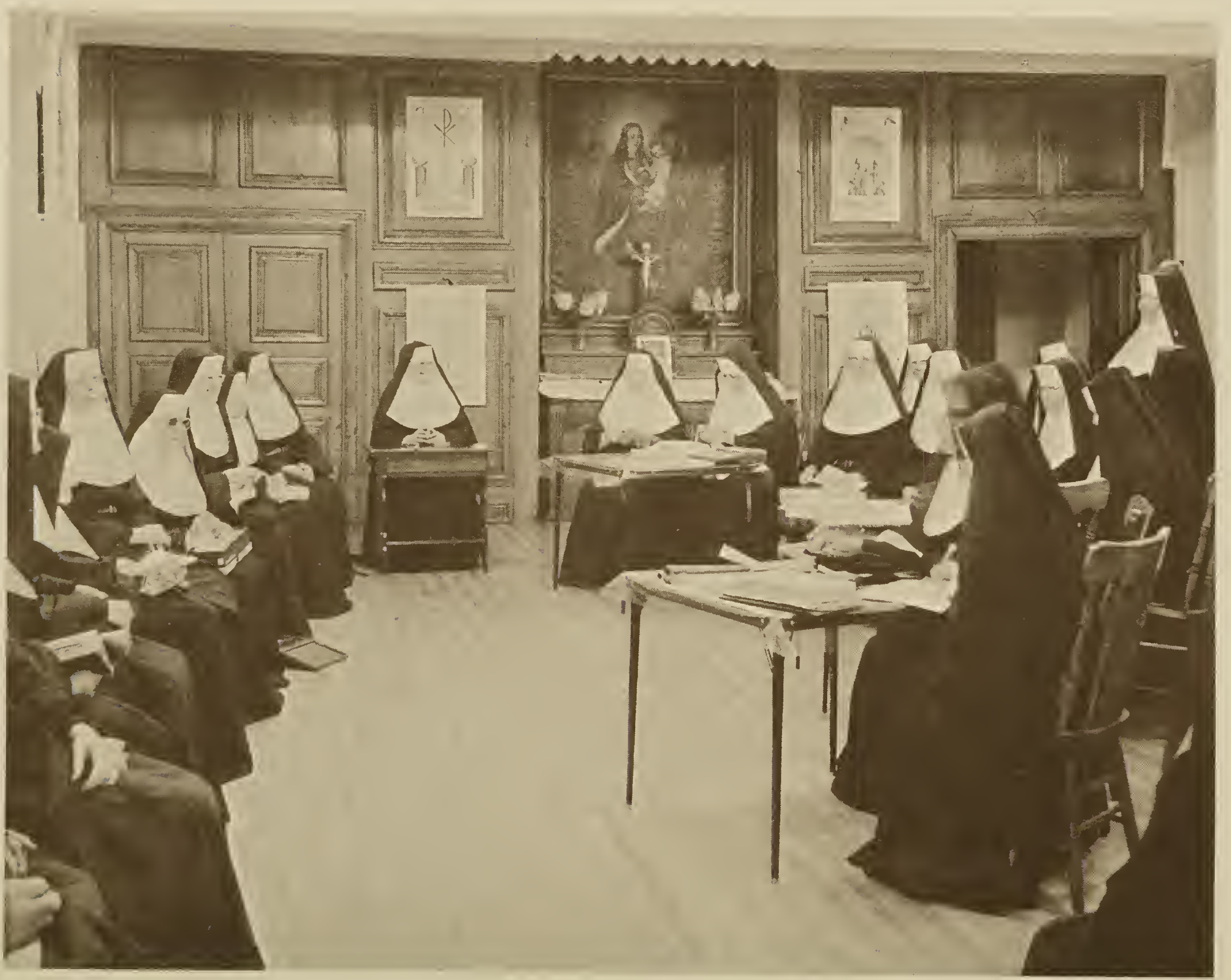
[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 362-363.

[24] At one time there seem to have been six of Mother St. Henry's relatives in the convent. John Fraser "would find here six cousins." Mother St. Henry stated in a letter to Dr. Simon Fraser on February 29, 1829, "there are none who are beautiful but they are estimable." Seven years later, on September 31, 1836, she wrote to John Fraser that Emilie Dechène S. Borgia "will take her vows the 7th Proximo, she is the third of your cousins, Josephine Michaud, S. S. Cecile, took her vows last year. Two nieces still remain to me at the boarding school, and you have two cousins, Eliza Dechène and Angélique Michaud, behold you how rich we are."



Sister Saint Henry of the Ursulines, Quebec
Dr. John McLoughlin's sister, Marie Louise. From a portrait painted by F. G. Bowman for Dr. McLoughlin, and given by him to the Ursuline Monastery in Quebec, where it now hangs.

URSULINE MONASTERY, QUEBEC, CANADA
An aerial view of this oldest educational institute for women in North America, founded 1639.
Here Dr. McLoughlin's sister, Marie Louise, as Sister St. Henry, served as Mother Superior.



Community Room of the Ursuline Monastery, Quebec

This form of Community has been held in this room since 1687, and was so held when Sister St. Henry was Mother Superior. As Mother Superior, she occupied the small desk at the center of the circle. From a photograph taken in 1958.

Courtesy of La Supérieure des Ursulines, Quebec.

artist, Mr. [F. G.] Bowman,[25] at the special request of her brother, Dr. McLoughlin. It is so life-like that we who bear the original impressed upon our hearts, may still imagine, as we pause before it in the community-hall, that we really meet again those eyes ever beaming with charity, and that we hear the mellow tones of that voice so soothing and maternal which we loved so well.

Often it has been remarked of Mother St. Henry, that it was sufficient to have seen her once to remain impressed with the highest respect for her as a religious [leader], and at the same time attracted by the charm of her conversation, her presence, her manners, all denoting the accomplished lady whose mind was even superior to her exterior endowments.[26]

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[25] F. G. Bowman, an artist from Boston, was employed to teach art in the school of the Ursuline convent in Quebec in 1832. His pupils decorated the principal altars and shrines in the monastery.

[26] *Glimpses of the Monastery,* p. 363.

V

John McLoughlin—the Son

Among the invisible bonds that linked the McLoughlins, on Columbia and Seine, with the family domain on the St. Lawrence, the strongest was their common anxiety over the family's *enfant terrible:* John McLoughlin. More than any other child of Dr. McLoughlin, John's escapades again and again turned the attention of the family members to the doctor's educational problems. Furthermore, John was the only McLoughlin to try his fortune in all three family territories. Everywhere he fell short of success. His struggle against an unconquerable heritage began on August 18, 1812. The birthplace of Dr. John and Marguerite Wadin McKay McLoughlin's oldest child might have been at Lac la Pluie, Vermillion Lake, or Fort William.[1] The doctor, in the employ of the North West Company since 1803, had met his wife, the half-breed daughter of a Swiss fur trader, in the preceding year.

John was nine years old when we have the first evidence of his education, that remained the problem of his brief life. His father, on the way to London, before embarking, wrote a letter to John's uncle Simon and told him that he had arranged to pay his son's account with Mr. Glen, who had the boy in school. Dr. McLoughlin asked Dr. Fraser to look after John. When the doctor returned from Europe, he again examined the schools in Montreal, but he did not make any changes because he could not find a better school. He was very much concerned about his own health and hoped, in his letter of May 15, 1822, to leave at least sufficient money to educate his children in case of his death. Dr. Simon Fraser had sent John to school with one Mr. Walker, a schoolmaster in his home town of Terrebonne near Montreal. He must have done it on May 1, 1822. On December 27, 1822, he drew on Thomas Thain, the financial agent of Dr. McLoughlin, for £ 50 and explained that the money was for a full year's payment of John's school and board from the preceding May. Up to this time John appears not to have written to his father.[2] The ten-year old had probably not seen the doctor since he entered school. Dr. McLoughlin was transferred to the Columbia district and arrived at Fort George on November 8, 1824. There he soon received a letter from Dr. Fraser who suggested that the boy be put in another school. The father, not in a position to form an opinion, left the decision to Dr. Fraser.

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[1] Dr. John McLoughlin was debited with having received goods from the North West Company at Lac la Pluie in 1812. Barker (ed.), *Financial Papers of Dr. McLoughlin,* p. 43. On March 22, 1812, the doctor wrote a letter from Vermillion Lake; on August 12, from Fort William.

Dr. Fraser changed John from Mr. Walker's to Mr. Essom's school. The boy recorded the event to his father, but did not give the exact date.[3] John's sister Elisabeth boarded with the Quebec Ursulines at this time. In a letter to Dr. Simon Fraser, Sister St. Henry stated, on May 18, 1826, that Elisabeth's education required £ 80 for one year. No similar record has come to light about John's expenses at the Essom school. On November 17, 1826, Governor George Simpson wrote that he had forwarded a draft of £ 100 to Dr. Fraser in the summer of 1825.[4] A letter from Dr. Fraser to his nephew on the Columbia, April 20, 1827, throws some light on John's situation. In it one finds the rather surprising statement that Dr. Fraser did not know John's age. The youngster was fourteen years and eight months old at the time of this correspondence. It appears that John still boarded with Mr. Essom, but that Mr. Neagle functioned as his teacher. He had been instructing John in arithmetic and bookkeeping but he could not go further with him. If John were to continue his studies, he had to attend another school. Dr. Fraser felt that John had not made the necessary progress; the boy's mind had been slow in developing. He was convinced that the youngster would not succeed as a physician because, according to his views, boys of mixed blood lacked the steadiness and application necessary to pursue such a long course of study as was required of medical students.

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[2] Dr. John McLoughlin to Dr. Simon Fraser, January 2, 1823.

[3] *Ibid.,* March 19, 1826.

[4] Dr. Fraser to Dr. McLoughlin, April 20, 1827.

Dr. Fraser, in Terrebonne, evidently felt the strain of looking after John in Montreal. He tried to get his brother, John Malcolm Fraser, to take the youngster to Quebec.[5] The plan fell through, and the boy was put under a new schoolmaster, one Mr. Jones. In his changed surroundings John caused trouble by mercilessly beating a younger boy. The doctor's son went out one night without leave, and the younger boy may have threatened to report him. Mr. Jones informed Governor George Simpson, who had an office at Lachine, in the outskirts of Montreal. The governor had called at the school previously and inquired about John's standing. This might explain why the teacher contacted him rather than Dr. Fraser. The head of the Hudson's Bay Company in the New World visited the school, called the boys together, and remonstrated with John. The youngster, easily irritated, flew into a violent passion and all feared an attack on the schoolmaster. His language became so abusive and disrespectful that Mr. Jones insisted Simpson take John with him at once, and indicated that he would not keep him another week for £ 500.[6]

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[5] Dr. Fraser to Governor George Simpson, October 16, 1827.

[6] Simpson to Dr. Fraser, March 14, 1828.

The brawl with Mr. Jones had severe consequences for John. Until then, Governor George Simpson had been favorably impressed by his ability and manner of address. He had even contemplated accepting the boy in the Hudson's Bay Company accounting house, preparatory to recommending him for a position in the fur trade. This experience left an indelible impression on Simpson. Some time after the tantrum, Simpson did give John a job in the accounting house at Lachine, superintended by Chief Factor James Keith. John was still in school studying bookkeeping, grammar, and arithmetic "from barter till as far as the end of cube root."[7] Dr. Fraser's reply to this description of John's education was preserved in a copy of his answer on the back of John's letter. He gave the boy fatherly but rather cool advice. His original complimentary read, "I am Dear John your sincere friend," but the uncle disregarded that version, struck it out, and closed with the formal, "Your friend." He sent John his clothes in a trunk, as if the boy should consider himself on his own from this time forth. He made the timely suggestion that John, while waiting for the trunk, take what he needed most "in a handkerchief," an overnight bag characteristic of that time and locality.

John rapidly lost friends after his episode with Governor Simpson. He grew restless and dissatisfied. On April 27, 1829, he asked his father a second time for permission to join him at Fort Vancouver. His father's refusal, on February 1, 1830, is full of wise and kind counsel. The doctor had doubtless heard from Dr. Simon Fraser about John's troubles. He urged his son accordingly to "become Modest, Respectful, Sensible, anxious to give satisfaction to those with whom you have Intercourse and see the necessity . . . every man is under, of acquiring the Good Will of others." Dr. John McLoughlin evidently was not reconciled with the idea that John should become a trader. He tried to impress his son with the importance of developing his mind." To Rise in the world," he counseled, "you must see that the only way you can succeed is by Applying yourself Most diligently to your Education," and he urged his son to remember "that as the Labour of the Mind is superior to that of the Body by so much is a well informed Man superior to an Ignorant Laborer." He closed with the injunction to "be . . . most attentive Morning and Evening to address your prayers to the Almighty Father."

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[7] John McLoughlin to Dr. Fraser, July 2, 1828.

Dr. McLoughlin's fatherly advice came late; his letter was dispatched three months after John had sailed for France.[8] On October 25, 1829, John wrote his uncle Simon from Quebec "to inform you I am to sail the 26th of this month. . . I have not went down to Rivièr-du-Loup," he continued, "I really would have written a longer letter but I was in hurry in embarking." Someone must have put the idea, to sail to France, into the youngster's head, financed him, and arranged with Dr. David McLoughlin in Paris to receive his nephew. John was just past his seventeenth birthday and certainly not in the position to formulate and execute such an undertaking. An examination of Dr. John McLoughlin's proprietary account on the books of the Hudson's Bay Company reveals that on December 16, 1829, his account was charged as followed: "Cash paid passage of his Son from Quebec to London £ 32-2-0," and "Cash paid passage of his Son from London to Paris £ 17-5-6."[9] Evidently, Dr. McLoughlin gave instructions to charge the expenses of John's travel to his account in London.

Dr. John McLoughlin's letter to his son, February 1, 1830, obviously composed three months after John sailed, suggests an answer to this question. "I have written my friends," the father informed his son, "to consider what Business your are qualifi'd for and to place you accordingly."

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[8] *Ibid.,* October 28, 1831.

[9] Barker (ed.), *Financial Papers of Dr. McLoughlin,* p. 60.

Dr. Fraser, Governor Simpson, and James Keith had been connected with John's case. As a simple solution of all problems, one of these men might have suggested to send John to his uncle David in Paris with the hope that he might do better under the direction of the successful physician than under any schoolmaster. It is possible that the governor was one of them, and that Dr. McLoughlin did not know what had been done until Simpson informed him. As stated in John's letter from Paris on October 26, 1831, whoever sent John to Paris was in the position to arrange for the youngster's passage and to draw on Dr. McLoughlin's account with the Hudson's Bay Company in London. Dr. McLoughlin's account shows that the previous drafts of £ 100 and £ 150 had been so charged.

When next we hear from John he is in Paris with his uncle David "preparing for an examination . . . in the month of Jan. next. I hope to be received, if I am I shall write and soon."[10] Probably his uncle wanted to prepare him for entry in an anatomy class.[11] Following John's departure there is a lapse of about two years when the Frasers did not correspond with him. Finally, John Fraser himself broke the silence. Dr. Simon Fraser's attitude worried John greatly. On February 24, 1833, he begged his uncle to write him, if only a few lines. He regretted what he had done to cause this aloofness. "Alas," he exclaimed, "can I ever cease regretting the loss of your love and regard no never." His affection for his uncle seemed sincere, and to be ignored for three years wounded him deeply. He related that he had gone through his "examination of Bachelier en lettres and passed it with credit." He claimed to have answered every question so perfectly that it was impossible to fail.

"I study from ten in the morning till three," he described the routine of his day, "and then rest till six and from then I study for three hours more, during that time I study chemistry anatomy Physiology Physics." By this time it was evident that Dr. David was preparing John for the practice of medicine. The boy admitted he was doing well, loved anatomy best, and devoted much time to its study. He urged Dr. Fraser to verify all his statements by writing to his uncle David.[12] "I regret every moment I lost," he stated with reference to his past affairs. He now wanted to satisfy everybody. "If I fail," he explained in his letter of August 8, 1833, "it will not be by want of hard application. I devote the whole day in studying." It would seem that at last he was thoroughly aware of his situation and anxious to take advantage of any opportunity. In 1833 David approved of John's behavior in a letter to his uncle Simon stating that the nephew had given him "Great satisfaction." [13]

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[10] John McLoughlin to Dr. Fraser, October 26, 1831.

[11] John McLoughlin to John Fraser, May 18, 1832.

John's early studies in Paris were overshadowed by the July Revolution that put an end to the reign of Charles X in 1830. He described an anniversary of the "three memorable days" of July, the draped churches, the bands playing solemn dirges, and on the 28th the celebration and the fireworks that he witnessed in company of some ladies.[14] John experienced not only *Les Trois Glorieses* but also some of the more troublesome days that followed. On June 26, 1832, he related his impression about the riots in Paris on June 5 and 6. The efforts of Louis Philippe to strengthen his monarchy caused uproars in Paris and Lyon between 1832 and 1836. One of these rebellions John viewed with his cousin, David Michaud, and saw men shot down at his very side.[15]

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[12] *Ibid.,* February 24, 1833.

[13] Dr. McLoughlin to Dr. Fraser, February 4, 1837.

[14] John McLoughlin to John Fraser, August 8, 1833.

[15] John McLoughlin to Simon Fraser, June 26, 1832.

But John also got his share of the gay life in the French capital. He took fencing lessons and ran the gamut of other social accomplishments. Yet revolutions, high society, and the world of sports did not prevent his return to his studies, which seemed to be all important to him. He told of his hopes to practice in a hospital and to settle in Paris. Doubtless his uncle's success influenced his views. His enthusiasm for his studies might have been damped by a bit of gossip that John Fraser passed on to Paris in August 1833. He related that a voyageur, recently returned from the Columbia, had described Dr. McLoughlin as "very very rich," an information probably not conducive to continued hard work on John's part, and certainly not to encourage thrift.

In the midst of what appeared to be satisfactory progress in John's studies, his uncle David, soon after having married in November, 1833, sent him back to Canada. No evidence has come to light that offers any explanation for David's action. In February, 1836, Dr. McLoughlin gave extravagance as reason.[16] But there is no evidence that Dr. McLoughlin, who furnished the money for his son's education,[17] ever complained about the burden. David paid the bills and then drew on Dr. McLoughlin's account in London. The sum of £ 700 in four years still does not seem extravagant in view of the fact that Dr. McLoughlin carried a balance in London of more than £ 3000. Of the £ 700, the last £ 100 doubtless covered John's return trip to

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[16] Dr. McLoughlin to John McLeod, February 1, 1836, John McLeod Letters, Dominion Archives, Ottawa, Canada.

[17] Dr. John McLoughlin's propriety account, on the books of the Hudson's Bay Company, shows the following statements during John's years in Paris:

1829	December 16	– Cash paid passage of his Son from Quebec to London	£ 32-2-0
		Cash paid passage of his Son from London to Paris	£ 17-5-6
1831	June 25	– Cash paid D. McLoughlin's Bill	£300-0-0
1832	July 18	– Cash paid to David McLoughlin	£300-0-0
1834	December 16	– Cash paid Bill to Dr. D. McLoughlin	£100-0-0

Barker (ed.), *Financial Papers of Dr. McLoughlin,* pp. 60-66.

Canada, leaving £ 600 as expenses for the four years in Paris. That can scarcely be called "extravagance" in view of the fact that David was moving in royal circles and earning, according to an information of a traveler who had recently visited France, not less than £ 10,000 a year.[18] Yet extravagance may have given rise to the incident which caused the sudden change in John's life. Dr. John McLoughlin's letter of February 14, 1836, to Dr. Simon Fraser, provides a glimpse of what had taken place about two years earlier. David had written to Dr. McLoughlin, obviously complaining about his nephew and possibly mentioning John's style of life. He showed John this letter in the evident hope that the boy would see that his uncle was displeased with his conduct and wanted him to change. But the gesture angered John and, within four days, he willfully committed an act of such nature that Dr. David McLoughlin sent him home at once. The details have as yet not been revealed. Dr. John McLoughlin learned them, probably, when he visited his brother David in 1838.

John returned to Canada in the summer of 1834 and went directly to the home of Dr. Simon Fraser in Terrebonne. For a time he got along well with his relatives. A promissory note, dated Terrebonne, November 7, 1834, signed by John Fraser and payable to Mr. John McLoughlin, on demand, for forty pounds indicates that John had forty or more pounds after his arrival from Paris. This borrowing by John Fraser may have been a game of strategy designed to keep John McLoughlin from spending his money foolishly. But John soon began to require repayment and by March 27, 1835, John Fraser had paid back £ 40 plus £ 1-4-0. John intended to continue his medical studies at McGill University. It became necessary for him to present a certificate to the administration accounting for the work he had done in Paris. New difficulties soon developed when his uncle David failed to forward him transcripts of his courses. On March 14, 1835, the nephew pointed out that it was very important to get them "this month" otherwise he would be forced to wait till next year." [19] Dr. Fraser recognized John's predicament and advised him to present the facts to the university. John followed the suggestion, but the authorities refused to act without the transcript. He nevertheless became a medical student in some way, as we shall see when he boarded with a fellow student and forgot to pay his bill. In his letter of June 23, 1835, he related from Quebec that he was "correcting the notes I took last winter in Montreal." He considered taking the examinations of the Medical Board, but one member told him that it would be useless.[20]

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[18] John Fraser to Dr. McLoughlin, April 20, 1834.

Having run through his money, John began to put pressure on Dr. Simon Fraser,[21] for whom he again was becoming a liability. John was beginning to show the extravagant trait of which his uncle David had complained. On April 14, 1835, Dr. Fraser made out a bill showing that he had paid John's board, and bought John's clothes for the sum of £ 42-2-0. He itemized £ 30-7-6 that had still to be paid. In addition he had given John money and tried desperately to get him to render an account of it, as he was sure that John's father would not approve of the way he was spending it. John admitted quite freely, in his letter of June 23, 1835, that he had squandered the money. After John had left Dr. Fraser's home, he went to board at £ 3 per month with a medical student, J. H. Trudeau, who wrote to ask if Dr. Fraser would be responsible for John's bill.[22] Dr. Fraser tried to relieve himself of these worries by inducing Chief Factor Keith to furnish the young man with transportation to his father at Fort Vancouver.[23] When this attempt failed, Dr. Fraser decided to send John to his brother, John Malcolm Fraser, in Quebec, en route to Rivière-du-Loup.[24] But Sister St. Henry crossed this plan. She begged not to distress her mother in Rivière-du-Loup and not to abandon John, as she feared he would fall from excesses to excesses. John remained in Quebec and complained that Dr. Fraser had not sent him the passage money, and John Malcolm Fraser refused to pay it. Meanwhile, more old bills reached Dr. Fraser. A small confectioner specified that John owed him a few shillings for beverages, pastries, and sweets. An attorney in Montreal informed Dr. Fraser that he was employed to collect an old bill of £ 9-16-0 and had been given to understand that the relative in Terrebonne would pay the sum, as he had paid other bills. Dr. Fraser refused curtly.[25] For him the time had come to try another angle. He wrote to Sister St. Henry and asked her if she would help to persuade William Randolph Eppes, John's brother-in-law, to take the young man under his supervision. Fraser admitted that he was too old and too prejudiced against John to be of further help.

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[19] John McLoughlin to Dr. Fraser, March 14, 1835.

[20] John McLoughlin to John Fraser, March 25, 1835; *ibid.,* April 6, 1835.

[21] *Ibid.,* April 6, 1835.

[22] J. H. Trudeau to Dr. Fraser, April 7, 1835.

In April, when John's unpaid bills were annoying him, Dr. Fraser had written two letters to his nephew on April 16 and 19, 1835, and related his difficulties with John. Dr. John McLoughlin was grieved and humiliated. Being far away at Fort Vancouver, he was helpless and, although conscious of the fact that Dr. Fraser was too old to be troubled by John, he had no other recourse than to ask him again to make another try. The doctor advised that his uncle show John the letter in hope that it would cause him to reform. The parental instinct was strong in Dr. McLoughlin and he suggested to his son that he would be allowed up to £ 150 a year if he would go straight and resume his studies.

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[23] Dr. Fraser to John McLoughlin, April 12, 1835.

[24] Dr. Fraser to George Moffat, April 24, 1835.

[25] J. F. Pelletier to Dr. Fraser, July 1, 1835.

Now, in July, John seemed to have exhausted Dr. Fraser's patience completely. John had written several letters for money and clothes. Dr. Fraser was adamant because he had already given John more money than the young man could account for. There were still some funds in the hands of George Moffatt that Dr. David McLoughlin had sent from Paris, to be used for John as Dr. Fraser would suggest. This sum Dr. Fraser planned to turn over to William R. Eppes. It was his intention to send John to Rivière-du-Loup for the summer, describe the situation to Dr. David, and request his opinion. This course was chosen because it normally took two years to correspond with Dr. John McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver. If David's answer were favorable, John could be brought back to Montreal and put to school again.[26]

Apparently, the plan worked. It is not clear who brought it to pass. When we hear next of John he is in Rivière-du-Loup. He wrote to John Fraser and wanted him to try to get his father to receive David Michaud, although John knew that Dr. Simon Fraser had refused to do so when requested by Sister St. Henry. Additionally, he asked for a set of dental instruments, so he could practice dentistry in Rivière-du-Loup.[27] But the plan to bring John back to his studies in Montreal did not work. On January 6, 1836, John wrote from Quebec to his cousin John Fraser and requested some vegetable pulmonary balsam, since he was suffering from a pulmonary ailment which he feared might be fatal. He continued to ask John if his father would send him some money. John showed this note to his father. On January 12, 1836, Dr. Simon Fraser replied with a most scathing letter. He accused the young man of remaining in

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[26] Dr. Fraser to Sister St. Henry, July 7, 1835.

[27] John McLoughlin to John Fraser, August 28, 1835.

Quebec to live on his relatives, or on some poor credulous boarding-house keeper, and suggested that John should go to some far away country and never return, as he was convinced John was "depraved beyond any hopes of reform." The writer added that he was going to make another effort to send John to his father. Dr. Fraser emphasized that he was writing more in sorrow than in anger, as he felt sure that John was "incorrigible." He advised the young man to get Lieutenant Commander Alexander Fraser to handle his affairs, as he was through trying his hand.

When Dr. Fraser suggested caustically that John "retire to some distant far country that you may never more be heard of," he doubtless had the Spanish army in mind. He knew that Dr. David McLoughlin, in Paris, was trying to get a commission for his nephew and David Michaud. John may have interpreted the counsel differently. In the middle of July, 1836, John McLoughlin, Charles McBean, and Alexander Roderick McLeod, half-breed sons of two chief factors and one chief trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, joined the filibustering expedition of "General" James Dickson, the "Liberator of the Indian Nations."[28] Dickson planned to cross the Great Lakes, liberate the Indians in the Red River settlement of the Hudson's Bay Company, raise an army of half-breeds, and march to Santa Fe. From there his legions would turn west and set up an Indian empire in California, for which Dickson would be the ruler and his officers his statesmen.

McLoughlin and McBean left Montreal in the middle of July, 1836, with sixty men who had gathered at Buffalo. On

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[28] Grace Lee Nute, "John McLoughlin, Jr., and the Dickson Filibuster," *Minnesota History,* Dec. 1936 (Saint Paul), XVII, pp. 444-447. On the self-styled general and his expedition see additionally Margaret Arnett McLeod, "Dickson the Liberator," *The Beaver,* Summer 1956 (Winnipeg, Canada) pp. 4-7; Nute, "James Dickson: A Filibuster in Minnesota in 1836," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* Sept. 1923 (Iowa City), X, pp. 127-140; "Documents Relating to James Dickson's Expedition," *ibid.,* pp. 173-181; Nute (ed.), "The Diary of Martin McLeod," *Minnesota History Bulletin,* Aug.-Nov. 1922 (Saint Paul) IV, pp. 351-439.

August 1 they sailed on a chartered schooner for Sault St. Marie. En route the motley array landed on an island, where they stole and slaughtered some cattle. The sheriff of Detroit and a posse overtook the adventurers with the steamboat "Gratiot" beyond Detroit on August 20, and "General" Dickson found it convenient to settle with the law for one hundred and fifty dollars.

Sister St. Henry, in the Ursuline convent, was the first to spread the news about John's newest venture, among the members of the family. Before joining the expedition, John had called on her and related his plan. In a letter to John Fraser, on July 11, 1836, she said that John had left four days earlier for Montreal to meet John G. McKenzie, half-breed son of "Emperor" Alexander McKenzie, of the Athabasca, and Dickson's "Secretary of State," who had offered John a commission in the liberator's army.

John related his own story in a letter to John Fraser, written from Sault St. Marie on September 1, 1836. He reported that he had been in command of a vessel crossing lakes Erie and Huron. Through extraordinary luck the adventurers were able to escape drowning in a storm. For this achievement John had been promoted "Major of the Cavalry," which pleased him because it gave him an increase in pay – an interesting trait for an officer in command of a shipwrecked schooner in the army of a dreamer without cavalry. In his letter of October 11, 1836, from Lapointe at Lake Superior, John gave more details. He described the hardship of the journey, how he had lived on corn and rotten pork in command of a company of men, "the worst of all those living under the face of Heaven . . . I assure you that before I get to red river I shall break some of their bones, and I will do it with the greatest pleasure for they deserve it." But the principal item in his report was the request that John Fraser order "at Boulanget an uniform of Cavalry . . . the coat must be red worked with silver lace on the chest and collar with large silver epauletts and two pairs of pantaloons . . . with gold lace on the side." No expense was to be spared, as John was going to send John Fraser "all the money that I shall earn."

John was sailing high in hope. One wonders whether he realized how visionary the entire scheme was. If he failed to view his adventure realistically, John Fraser took it upon himself to open his cousin's eyes. He pointed out that James Dickson was no general, had no army, no funds, no following, no principles, in short, was a "degraded vagabond." He implored John to leave the liberator and to make his way to his father.[29] It is not known whether John received this advice. He continued the perilous journey to the Red River colony with the remnant of Dickson's adventurers. The few desperados who survived the march through ice and snow were easily defeated by Governor George Simpson's diplomacy.

The almighty head of the Hudson's Bay Company had seen a highly colored news story of the cattle stealing, reprinted from the Detroit *Daily Advertiser,* and had heard of Dickson's plan to conquer the Red River colony. Simpson promptly took steps to protect the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company. He ordered Chief Factor Alexander Christie at Fort Gary, on September 4, 1836, to do whatever he could to discourage the adventurers from going into Red River. "Set them at variance with each other and break up the party," he advised. The governor authorized Christie to take John McLoughlin as a surgeon in the service of the company, at £ 100 a year, and Alexander R. McLeod as an apprentice clerk, "and by detaching them you will have less difficulty in managing the others." On September 7, 1836, Simpson himself asked the young men to meet him in Lachine on April 25, 1837.[30] Exhausted and discouraged, the remnants of Dickson's "army" reached the Red River colony on December 20, 1836; McLoughlin and McLeod accepted Simpson's offer.

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[29] John Fraser to John McLoughlin, April 16, 1837.

[30] Rich (ed.), *McLoughlin Letters, Second Series, 1839-44,* p. xxviii.

The Council of the Northern Department appointed John McLoughlin as surgeon at Fort McLoughlin in June, 1837. His father, uncertain what John might do next, ordered the young man to Fort Vancouver, where he could have him under his own care and observation. John arrived in August, 1837, at the Columbia, probably before John Fraser's letter reached the doctor. John thus could relate to his father in person his experience with "General" James Dickson. At last father and son could talk and work out their problems together. Governor Simpson had employed John, and Dr. McLoughlin felt in no way responsible for his coming with the company; the doctor had been opposed to it from the beginning. Under his father's guidance, John settled down to his work. In the spring Dr. McLoughlin took his departure for Paris and John accompanied him at least to Norway House, on Mossy Point at the outflow of Lake Winnipeg. John returned to Fort Vancouver, where he worked under the supervision of Chief Factor James Douglas who apparently had confidence in John and allowed him to cross the mountains with the express in 1838 and 1839.

In 1839, after David, John's younger brother, had returned from Europe with Dr. McLoughlin, the boys labored together at Fort Vancouver. John's work must have been satisfactory. In 1840, when Fort Stikine came under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company, he was chosen to aid William Glen Rae, the husband of his sister Eloisa, in the development of the post. On June 1, 1840, the men reached the fort in the part of the Russian dominion in North America given in bail to the Honorable Company. In the following year, Governor Simpson moved John's brother-in-law to San Francisco, and left John in charge of the fort and its turbulent staff. John McLoughlin was murdered by his men in the night of April 20/21, 1842. The details of the tragedy have been satisfactorily reviewed in W. Kaye Lamb's introduction to the second series of the *McLoughlin Letters*.[31] It remains to explain Simpson's report about the events that led to John's end.

David was the first to break the news of his brother's death to the family in eastern Canada. His letter of March 19, 1843, to John Fraser criticized Simpson's account of John's murder. His rather accurate estimate of the governor's report was merely a reflection of his father's opinion which the young man had heard many times at Fort Vancouver, before writing his letter. David pointed out that Simpson had brought John into the service of the company against the wishes of his father and without consulting Dr. McLoughlin. He must have known of John's satisfactory service at Fort Vancouver before sending him to Fort Stikine. He visited Fort Stikine in October, 1841,[32] and apparently was so pleased with John's management that he felt justified in taking from him his trusted and experienced assistant and leaving him with inexperienced or rebellious helpers. Why then, did Governor Simpson make only a cursory examination of John's death and condemn him on the evidence of his assassins?

George Simpson was present when the murdered man, as a boy of sixteen, had displayed his temper in the school at Montreal. Remembering that incident, and rather than take the necessary time to make a thorough investigation of the facts, he may have decided that the affair at Stikine was just another outbreak of John's temper. Accordingly, he felt satisfied to consider it as such and believed what the criminals told him because it confirmed his views of the case.[33] Simpson was a man of strong prejudices and prone to act on them. The Stikine affair may have been such an instance. To say the least, Simpson could not be justified in reporting the killing so bluntly and critically to the father of the murdered man, even if the details had been as he presented them. But if one considers that they were not the facts in the case – as the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company found in the end – Simpson's actions cannot possibly be justified.

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[31] *Ibid.*, pp. xxii-xlviii.

[32] Dr. McLoughlin to John Fraser, April 12, 1843.

Although John was vindicated, his father was unwilling to forget Simpson's accusations. Again and again, in a series of letters to London, he repeated bitterly his charges against Sir George. This is understandable when one considers that John had been the problem child to everyone in the family, Dr. Fraser, Dr. David McLoughlin, Sister St. Henry and even Governor George Simpson. He had run the gamut – fought in school, become a reckless spendthrift, borrowed from all who would lend him money, engaged in an utterly wild-eyed filibustering expedition with "General" James Dickson – in short he had been a typical prodigal son. He went so far that even his father threatened to cut him off. Then had come a change, and he ended in Ft. Vancouver with his father and brother David. The prodigal son returned. For two years he worked with his father and James Douglas, and settled into work harness to the satisfaction not only of his father but even of Governor Simpson. The latter, accordingly, put him in the difficult post at Stikine. His reports to Dr. McLoughlin indicated that John was doing well. The wayward son had settled into his niche, and Dr. McLoughlin at last had peace of mind.

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[33] "It may be noted," W. Kaye Lamb points out, "that Simpson was aware that the murder posed an awkward problem legally. It had occurred in Russian territory, and the Russian authorities at Sitka had no criminal jurisdiction. The theory that the crime had been committed under extreme provocation, or in self defence, might, under such circumstances, prove convenient." Rich (ed.), *McLoughlin Letters, Second Series, 1839-44,* p. xxxi.

This was the situation when, without a word of warning, Simpson who had never written an unfavorable report on John in Stikine, wrote Dr. McLoughlin the condemning letter reciting a series of John's misconducts – cruelty to his men, drunkenness, licentious living and even hinting shortages in accounts. What more cruel blow could have been struck at Dr. McLoughlin?

In fighting back he went so far that the Governor and Committee grew weary of it and maneuvered him into such a position that he had to resign from the Company. The quarrel over John's death contributed largely to Dr. John McLoughlin's downfall. It was the final act of an outraged father defending his maligned son, regardless of the consequences.

VI
Eliza and David

MARIE ELISABETH McLOUGHLIN (ELIZA)

John's brief and hectic life is unique in the McLoughlin family. His sisters and his younger brother lived in the shadows of his escapades. Dr. John McLoughlin's daughters hardly emerged from this colorful background until they married and had their own families. Eloisa, the younger daughter, is seen only very vaguely through the family letters. Born in 1817, she accompanied her parents to the Columbia district in 1824. She received her education in the convent of the Quebec Ursulines under the tutelage of her aunt, Sister St. Henry. After her return to Oregon she married William Glen Rae, a Hudson's Bay Company employee, in 1838, and lived with him at various posts where he served as clerk and trader. Following his suicide at San Francisco, in 1845, Eloisa returned to Fort Vancouver and, in the next year, accompanied her father to Oregon City. In 1850 she married Daniel Harvey, a former superintendent of the Hudson's Bay Company farm, who managed the mills of her father. In April, 1864, Harvey was elected as one of the directors of the Oregon City Woolen Manufacturing Company. The family – Eloisa had three children from her first husband and three from her second – moved to Portland in 1867 where Harvey died the following year. Eloisa succumbed in 1884.[1]

In contrast to Eloisa, at least one aspect of her older sister's life received full attention in the family letters: Marie Elisabeth's and Dr. John McLoughlin's real estate dealings on the St. Lawrence River. Eliza, as the family called the girl, was probably born in 1814 when her father, in the employ of the North West Company, was stationed at Lac la Pluie – his first assignment as wintering partner.[2] She is first mentioned in the family letters by Dr. John McLoughlin who informed his uncle Simon that "my Daughter [Eliza] I Intend to leave at the Nunnery [Ursuline convent] till I go down." [3] Governor George Simpson called on her in Quebec. "I had the pleasure of seeing his [Dr. John McLoughlin's] sister [Marie Louise] and Daughter [Eliza] while at Quebec," he wrote to Dr. Simon Fraser, "and was happy to find that the Young Lady had made great progress in the different branches of Education to which her attention has been directed." [4] Her expenses at the monastery were £ 80 a year.[5]

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[1] Reminiscences of Mrs. Eloisa McLoughlin Rae Harvey (ms., Oregon Historical Society, Portland).

Eliza appears to have been a bit on the frail side. Following the wish of her father, the girl studied music. "I often tell the little one," her aunt related, "that her music will be of some value to her as for a life of work, she is not strong." [6] The next information about the girl comes from a letter written by her brother John in Paris. "I received a letter from my dear sister," he told Dr. Simon Fraser, "in which she announces me her marriage with Mr. Epps. I hope she shall be happy with him. . . It seems that the gentleman is very respected in Quebec by all his friends. the information given to my uncle by one of Governor Aylmer Aide de Camp are very good." [7]

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[2] W. Stewart Wallace (ed.), *Documents Relating to the North West Company* (Toronto, 1934), 288.

[3] Dr. John McLoughlin to Dr. Simon Fraser, March 19, 1826.

[4] George Simpson to Dr. Fraser, November 17, 1826.

[5] Sister St. Henry to Dr. Fraser, May 18, 1826.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] John McLoughlin to Dr. Fraser, February 24, 1833.

William Randolph Eppes was born in 1795. He joined the British army as a clerk on December 21, 1811, became a Deputy Assistant on July 19, 1821, and Assistant Commissary General on July 7, 1827. He served in Portugal in 1811, on Malta (1816), in the West Indies (1822), at the Gold Coast (1825), at Cape Coast Castle (1826), in Canada (1829), and Newfoundland (1837), and died in Jamaica on August 11, 1849. He was apparently stationed in Canada from 1829 to 1837. John's letter, written from Paris on February 24, 1833, would indicate a marriage in 1832. Six children were born of the wedlock: Elizabeth Athelina Routh, October 23, 1835; John St. Hy Randolph, June 18, 1838; Harriet Alice, December 31, 1839; Frances Maria Sophia, April 22, 1844; Beverley Rion, September 2, 1846; and Susan Beatrice, October 24, 1849. As widow, Eliza received a pension of £70 per year paid at Quebec, and also a compassionate allowance of £16 for each child.[8]

Before the death of her husband, Eliza became the recipient of the bounty of her father. His account in London with the Hudson's Bay Company is debited with£100 paid to her on August 23, 1839.[9] In addition the London account shows payments to her as follows: 1841, £100; 1843, £50; 1852, £150; 1853, £400; 1854, £200; 1855, £100; 1856, £300; 1857, £250; a total of £1650 of which £1400 were paid after she became a widow.[10] None of Eliza Eppes's letters has been found; Dr. McLoughlin acknowledges one in July, 1856.[11] In it Mrs. Eppes informed her father that John Malcolm Fraser was unwilling to have any further charge of the doctor's three farms in Rivière-du-Loup. It appears that Dr. McLoughlin had asked the relative to sell the property but failed to inclose a power of attorney. Subsequently he sent the power of attorney to John Malcolm Fraser, who did not acknowledge its receipt. He therefore sent his daughter a power of attorney on July 23, 1856, giving her the right to sell his farms. But he opened the letter before mailing it and, in a footnote, instructed his daughter not to use the power of attorney if Mr. Fraser was willing to act. At the same time, on July 24, the doctor made out a new power of attorney to John Malcolm Fraser and instructed him to sell the farms. He enclosed a copy of this directive in his letter to Mrs. Eppes and explained that she was not to act unless Fraser refused to do so. Eliza failed to observe her father's instructions. She sold the three farms to John Fraser of St. Mark for £ 1350, over the protest of John Malcolm Fraser.[12] John Fraser of St. Mark was indebted to Dr. McLoughlin in the sum of £ 186-6-11, with interest from October 12, 1850. Fraser had been also directed to collect this money. One wonders why the notary did not recognize the protest of John Malcolm Fraser, as his power of attorney seemingly was later by one day than that of Mrs. Eppes. He could have refused to notarize the deed and could then have referred the whole matter back to Dr. McLoughlin.

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[8] C. S. Drew, Secretary, Public Record Office, London, to Burt Brown Barker, August 22, 1949.

[9] Barker (ed.), *Financial Papers of Dr. McLoughlin,* p. 70.

[10] *Ibid.,* pp. 70-82.

[11] Dr. McLoughlin to John Fraser of St. Mark, October 28, 1856.

Dr. McLoughlin, in his next move, sent drafts to the amount of £ 650 to John Malcolm Fraser, with instructions to redeem the farms and repay the purchaser less the £ 186-6-11 which he owed Dr. McLoughlin.[13] He also explained the situation to John Fraser of St. Mark and asked him to return the farms upon repayment of his purchase price.[14] Dr. John McLoughlin's death left the contest undecided. The Eppes deed provided that the consideration should be paid as follows: £ 200 on October 1, 1856, £ 100 on January 1, 1857, and thereafter £ 100 on the first of March of each year, the first payment to be made on March 1, 1858, with an interest rate at six per cent. Only the first payment of £ 200 was made. On January 22, 1859, Mrs. Eppes borrowed £ 300 from Louis Fiset and Louis Cyprien Fiset, attorneys and notaries, and hypothecated as security the sum due under the terms of the deed.[15]

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[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Dr. McLoughlin to John Malcolm Fraser, January 5, 1857.

[14] Dr. McLoughlin to John Fraser of St. Mark, October 28, 1856.

The end of the affair is unknown; no research was made beyond this point. In his will, Dr. McLoughlin gave Eliza a life estate in the farms, with a remainder over to her children. The will was dated on February 21, 1857, at which time the doctor probably thought that John Malcolm Fraser had been able to redeem the farms from John Fraser of St. Mark. In addition to the sums which Dr. McLoughlin presented her, and the £ 300 borrowed from the Fiset brothers, Eliza also received £ 200 as loan from her great-uncle, Alexander Fraser, of Rivière-du-Loup.[16] Among the doctor's heirs, Eliza received the least support. She had been a widow for eight years at the time of Dr. McLoughlin's death and drew a pension of £ 166 for herself and her six children, between eight and twenty-two years old. Her father's estate had good assets of $142,585.02, of which her brother David received $25,000 cash and her sister Eloisa and her husband Daniel Harvey, the rest. Eliza might easily have felt slighted.

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[15] See copy, Appendix II, no. 9.

[16] Dr. McLoughlin to John Malcolm Fraser, January 5, 1857.

DAVID McLOUGHLIN

David McLoughlin, the youngest child of Dr. John McLoughlin and his wife Marguerite, was born at Fort William on February 11, 1821. While Dr. McLoughlin visited London and Paris in 1821 and 1822, his wife doubtless remained at the post with her two younger children, Eloisa and David. The two older children, John and Marie Elisabeth, had earlier been sent to school in Montreal. When the doctor was transferred to the Columbia district, in 1824, his wife and his two younger children accompanied him. Eloisa was then six and David three years old. Whatever early education they had, was obtained at the post. Dr. McLoughlin saw to it that some kind of school was held at Fort Vancouver. The letters do not reveal David's further education. In all probability he attended a school in Montreal, as his brother John had done, under Dr. Simon Fraser's supervision. Many years afterwards, writing from Fort Vancouver, in 1842, David had "a clear recollection of Terrebonne, the beautiful streets and walks about the town," where Dr. Fraser practiced medicine.

In 1833 David was sent to Paris for further education. He was in care of Dr. David McLoughlin, together with his older brother John, who was studying medicine under the direction of their uncle.[17] The prospects of a common education were suddenly shattered when Dr. David McLoughlin sent John back to Canada. There are only three references in the family letters that throw light on David's further education. "My youngest son," Dr. John McLoughlin informed John McLeod on February 1, 1836, "is I believe at Addiscombe College preparing to go to the

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[17] Dr. McLoughlin to Dr. Fraser, February 4, 1837.

East Indies."[18] On February 14, 1836, Dr. McLoughlin explained that he "had a letter from [my brother] David since his [young David's] Arrival in Paris and My Brother writes that he proposes to Educate him for the Engineer Department and send him out to India."[19] The third reference is in a letter dated on February 4, 1837, which states that "last March David was at Edmonton nigh London."[20]

Dr. John McLoughlin visited Paris and London in 1838. He spent the winter with his brother on the Seine. When he returned in 1839 he brought his youngest son home with him. The letters do not offer any reason for this decision. David wrote from Norway House, at the outflow of Lake Winnipeg, to Dr. Simon Fraser on July 11, 1839. He had arrived at the post just in time to greet his father and brother, who were headed east to the York Factory, the Honorable Company's headquarters on Hudson Bay. On his return from Europe the boy must have stayed with his relatives on the St. Lawrence while his father went on west to meet John en route to the York factory. "My business would not allow me, in my Visit to the Civilized World, to spend a longer time in the Society of my Relations," Dr.

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[18] The records of the Commonwealth Relations Office in London show that Dr. McLoughlin was not quite accurate. "David McLoughlin, nominated a Cadet for the East India Company's Military Seminary at Addiscombe by Sir William Young, Bart. (a Director of the East India Company) at the recommendation of the Cadet's uncle, Dr. David McLoughlin. David was the son of John McLoughlin, Commander of Fort Vancouver, North America, and was born at Fort William, Lake Superior, N. M. on the 11th of February, 1821. Cadet Papers, vol. 77, 1835, no. 57. He joined the Military Seminary on 14th April 1837, passed Public Examination 11th December, 1838. Having resigned the service, his name was struck out of list no. 1 of 1839 (G. O., 8th July, 1839). Bengal Army Service List, vol. 12, p. 435." Commonwealth Relations Office to Burt Brown Barker, July 31, 1954.

[19] Dr. McLoughlin to John Fraser, February 14, 1836.

[20] Dr. McLoughlin to Dr. Fraser, February 4, 1837.

McLoughlin apologized to his uncle, after his return to Fort Vancouver on February 24, 1840.

At the post on the Columbia, David joined John in working for the Hudson's Bay Company. A year later they were reported doing well.[21] "I still feel as happy now," David confessed to his cousin John Fraser on April 7, 1842, "when I am mounted on my horse with my Rifle, my pistols on each side of my saddle and well belted, and a bear 300 year [yards] off, as when I used to set by a parler window and listened to a Military Band playing."

John was murdered at Fort Stikine in April 1842. "I am now alone with my Father and Mother," David related in his annual letter to his cousin. "My Sister [Eloisa] is in California with her husband [William Glen Rae]." [22]

In the winter of 1844-45, David, still unmarried, was on a trapping expedition in Oregon and California.[23] He resigned from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1849.

Tradition, repeated to the writer by Eva Emery Dye, a popular biographer [24] of Dr. John McLoughlin, tells us that David fell in love with the daughter of an English sea captain whose vessel was anchored in the river off Fort Vancouver; that while David was on a trip down the valley, the captain learned that David's mother was a half-breed. Displeased about the choice of his daughter, the father hastened the loading of the vessel and set sail the day before David returned to the fort. The lover made a desperate effort to overtake the vessel before it crossed the bar at the mouth of the Columbia. But David's attempt to see his love again failed. Discouraged, he resigned. If he could not marry a white girl, he reasoned, he would marry a squaw.

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[21] Dr. McLoughlin to John Fraser, October 24, 1840.

[22] David McLoughlin to John Fraser, March 19, 1843.

[23] *Ibid.,* March 15, 1845.

[24] Eva Emery Dye, *McLoughlin and Old Oregon; A Chronicle* (Chicago, 1900).

He went into northern Idaho, married a squaw, and raised a family.

This tale does not square with the facts. David lived in Idaho, but he did not marry until 1865, sixteen years after the traditional resignation. There is no evidence of any love affair in the family letters. On March 18, 1849, David gave John Fraser a report about men returning from the mines with gold dust – so much gold dust that they were unwilling to work. He had made for himself $20,000 in gold dust in five months. He had hired "large numbers of Indians . . . for a year," and now was "on the eve of starting for the gold region." Anticipating success, he added, "I hope then to be satisfied for the remainder of my life." His resignation was due to gold, not a girl.

George H. Himes, Secretary of the Oregon Pioneer Association and the Oregon Historical Society, located David McLoughlin in Porthill, Idaho. He raised a fund among Oregon pioneers and brought him to Portland in 1901. David, the guest of the Pioneer Association, was photographed together with Sidney Moss and Francois Xavier Matthieu.[25] He returned to his home in Porthill, Idaho, and was not heard of again until January 1, 1949, forty-eight years after his visit to Portland, when Mrs. Blanche M. Hobbs, his granddaughter from Anchorage,

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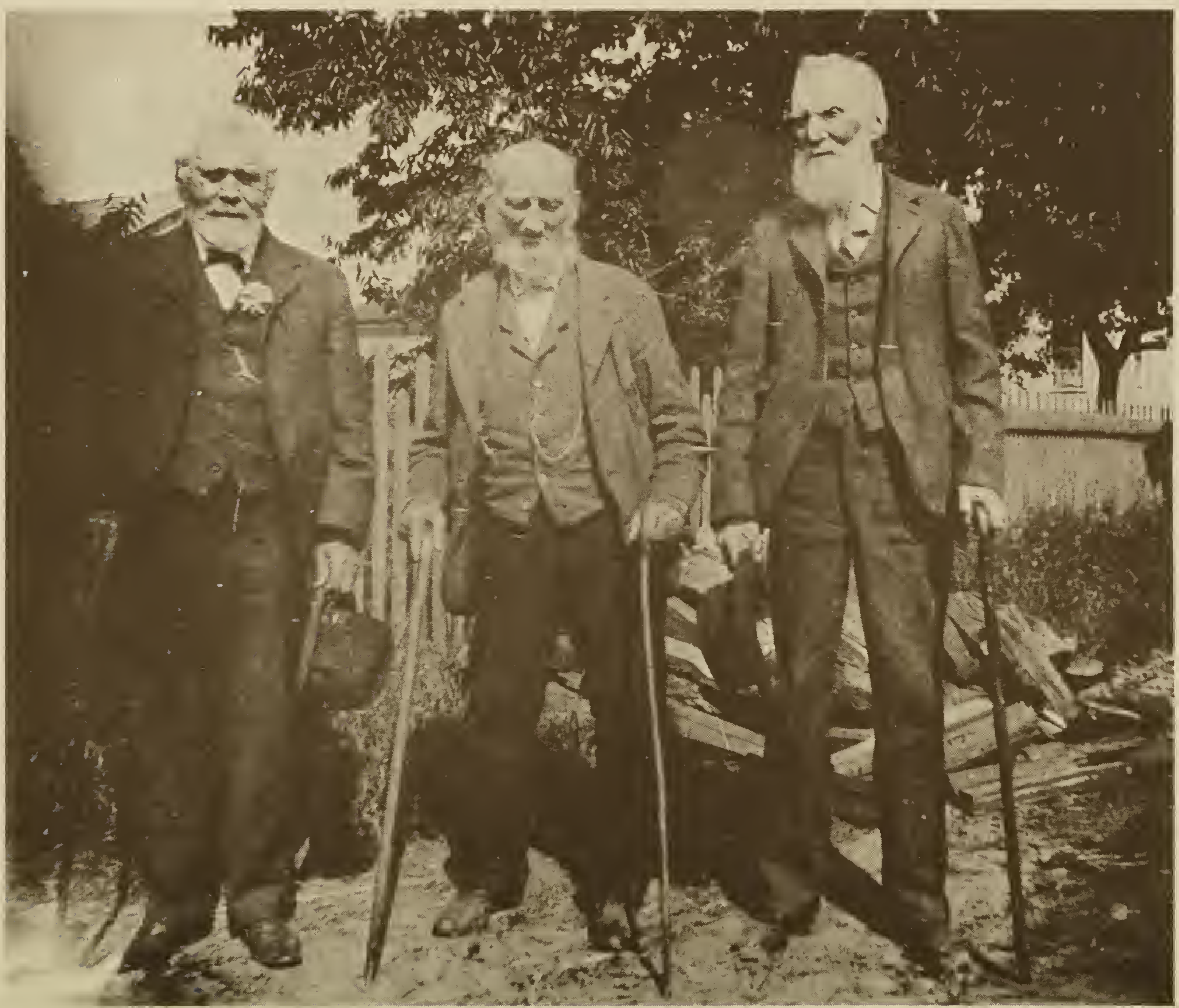
[25] Francois Xavier Matthieu (1818-1914), born in Terrebonne, near Montreal, was the last survivor of the men who voted at Champoeg. He and Etienne Lucier were the only French-Canadian residents in Oregon to advocate a governmental organization.

Sidney Walter Moss (1810-1901). Born in Paris, Bourbon County, Kentucky; and went to school with Jefferson Davis. He arrived in Oregon City, April 26, 1842, with his wife Rebecca, daughter of Thomas Taylor, cousin of President Taylor. He built the first hotel and established the first store owned by an individual west of the Rocky Mountains. He was a great friend of Dr. McLoughlin and helped in the first survey of Oregon City.

The photograph is preserved in the McLoughlin House in Oregon City, Oregon. See illustration at page 137.

Alaska, called at the McLoughlin House in Oregon City. On April 19, 1950, in a letter from Alaska, she gave the following information about David's family:

> David McLoughlin married Annie Grizzly, the daughter of Chief Grizzly, a full blood Kootnia Indian, in 1865. This date is not for certain and there is no way to find out for sure. Annie McLoughlin died 28 July 1897. They had eight (8) daughters and one (1) son. The following list starts with the oldest to the youngest.
>
> a. Margaret McLoughlin, born Porthill, Idaho, 1869, deceased.
> b. Louisia McLoughlin, born Porthill, Idaho, 1871, deceased.
> c. Sarah McLoughlin, born Porthill, Idaho, 1873, deceased. My [Mrs. Blanche M. Hobbs's] mother was named Sarah after this daughter died.
> d. Angeline Sullivan, born Porthill, Idaho, 5 July 1875, Married, three (3) sons and four (4) daughters as follows:
>
> - Edward Sullivan, born Porthill, Idaho, 4 Aug 1898, married, two (2) children.
> - Annie Hundley, born Porthill, Idaho, 23 Sept 1901, married, two (2) children.
>   - Leah Bohlas, born 14 Jan 1923, married, no children.
>   - Eleanore Harvey, born 18 May 1924, married, two (2) children, Karen Harvey, born 9 April 1946, Anita Harvey, born 6 Aug 1947.
> - Margaret Campbell, born Porthill, Idaho, 25 Sept 1904, six (6) children.
>   - Patrick Hunt, born 2 Nov 1924, single.
>   - Marjorie Bowers, born 31 Dec 1924, married, one (1) daughter, Phyllis Bowers, born 1945.
>   - Pauline Mathison, born 11 June 1932, married, one (1) son, Paul Mathison, born 18 Feb 1949.
>   - Elaine Campbell, born 20 Dec 1934.
>   - Bernadine Campbell, born 20 Dec 1936.
>   - Janet Campbell, born 11 Jan 1945.
> - Cornelius Sullivan, born Trinidad, Washington, 12 Nov 1907, married, one (1) son.
>   - Terrance Sullivan, born April 1927.
> - Daniel Sullivan, born Porthill, Idaho, 9 May 1912, married, one (1) daughter.
>   - Catherine Annie Sullivan, born Dec 1935.



David McLoughlin (right), son of Dr. John McLoughlin

F. X. Matthieu, left, and Sidney Moss, center, were prominent among the pioneers of Oregon.

Courtesy of the McLoughlin Memorial Association.

Angeline Fisher, born Harvard, Idaho, 14 Sept 1914, married, three (3) children.
    John Fisher, born 1937.
    Geraldine Fisher, born 14 Feb 1939.
    Sandra Fisher, born 8 Jan 1949.
Louise Burris, born 9 Sept 1916, Latah, Washington, married, no children.

e. John McLoughlin, born Porthill, Idaho, 16 Oct 1877, bachelor.
f. Amelia King, born Porthill, Idaho, 3 Dec 1883, married, no children.
g. Sarah Rogerson, born Porthill, Idaho, 11 Jan 1885, three (3) children.
    William McLoughlin, born 8 Nov 1900, married, three (3) children.
        Jerrydean Mercer, born 7 Sept 1926, married, no children.
        Bernadean McLoughlin, born 15 Oct 1932.
        Herbert McLoughlin, born 2 July 1934.
    Helen Smith, born 29 Jan 1914, deceased, one (1) daughter.
        Shirley Gianelli, born 24 July 1932, married, no children.
    Blanche Hobbs, born 30 June 1916, married, no children.
h. Clara McLoughlin, born Porthill, Idaho, 1887, deceased, 1899.
i. Eliza McLoughlin, born Porthill, Idaho, 1880, deceased, 1881.

> The records that David McLoughlin kept so carefully, in the family Bible, were destroyed by fire so that is why we do not have the accurate record we would like to have. My Mother, Sarah Rogerson, was one of the younger children so some of the information we cannot answer.[26]

In an interview, Mrs. Sarah Rogerson added details to this information.[27] She stated that the tale of the sea captain's daughter, related by Eva Emery Dye, was known to the family. Her father positively denied the story, she commented, and said no such event ever took place. When David left the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, he came to Wyndel, British Columbia, and operated a Hudson's Bay Trading Post for a white man whose name is unknown. In 1865 he married Annie Grizzly, the daughter of Chief Grizzly, a full-blooded Kutenai Indian, and raised a family. He later moved to Idaho where he had a farm of a hundred and sixty acres. Charles P. Hill, a United States custom officer, and David McLoughlin decided to lay out a townsite which they called Porthill. The settlement was originally called Akcoonook, the Kutenai word for rocky point. The site never developed beyond a few houses and a store.

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[26] Blanche M. Hobbs, granddaughter of David McLoughlin, to Burt Brown Barker, April 19, 1950.

[27] Interview with Mrs. Sarah Rogerson, daughter of David McLoughlin, July 26, 1956.

At Porthill, David McLoughlin built a large log house for his family and lived there until his death. He never returned to Canada. Eight girls and one son were born to David and his wife. Only three of the daughters married, and in each instance they married white men, as did their daughters, with the exception of one who chose a Coeur d'Alene Indian. Mrs. Sarah Rogerson, at the time of the interview, still resided in Porthill where she had reared her family. Her only brother, John McLoughlin, had also lived in Porthill until his death on October 12, 1951.

Her father, Mrs. Rogerson recounted, never talked to his family about his early life, especially his years in Europe. The only inkling his children had of it was what they overheard when he conversed with strangers. Being the only educated man in his district for some years, the troubles of the neighborhood were brought to him. He was highly respected as a man of peace and was recognized by everyone as a man who had received the advantage of an education. As the first school teacher in Porthill, he donated his time to the upbringing of children. He kept also the first weather records. His death left a gap in the local life that was never completely filled by any other person.

Appendices

Appendix I
McLoughlin and Fraser Family Letters
1796-1857

1. JOHN McLOUGHLIN, CULTIVATEUR, TO MALCOLM FRASER[1]

27th July 1796

Honoured Sir I received the letter that you honoured me with dated the twentyeth Instant which I have now before me the Contents I hope to Observe.

With Regard to the first paragraph, I thought that I answered you several times heretofore on that subject. I Refer to Mr. Jones that has them under his Charge I believe and I am sure that he will let you know what Directions I Ever give him whether any or not with Regard to Religion.

I feel it Rather hard that you should Compell a parent to bring his Children up in a Religion that he wass not brought up himself and Consider that it is a weakness to Aquiese. However, If it is your Request I find myself Obliged to Agree With what you Request.

Honoured Sir I am your Dutifull Servant
Quebec 27th July 1796 John McLoughlin
Colonell Fraser

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2. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

Dear Uncle It was with great pleasure and satisfaction I perceived that you found out I was not so much to blame for the Books as you first imagined nothing is more hurting to me than that I should give you cause to Complain of my misbehaviour by the negligence & I have neither

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[1] See illustration herein, Plate 1 (page 259).

Fourcroy[2] Lavoisier[3] or Cullens[4] first Lines – Dr. Monro[5] is come up again he says he gave that Shot Bag to Mr. Henry McKenzie[6] as he was going out to terre-Bonne, I send you a piece of petrifid fir which comes from fort des esperance half of the tree from which it is taken is still wood and the rest stone. I believe I will not be able to go inland this Year And will winter here – I must again renew my petion [sic] to you for books, If you had any historical to spare I would be much oblig'd to You. You will I hope pardon my brevity as my time is rather short –

I am Dear Uncle Your affectionate Nephew

JNO McLOUGHLIN

Kaministiquia[7] 16 July 1805

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3. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

KAMINISTIQUIA 28th July 1806

MY DEAR SIR It is with a great deal of pleasure I embrace the present oppertunity and first straight one from this to Montreal this season – to inform You I past a much better winter than the preceeding one with my Uncle Alexander – It was You wrote me two Years ago that you wish'd to know my agreement to which I gave You an Answer but I am sorry you have not as yet give me Your Opinion on this – a Mr McKay[8] that arriv'd here a few days ago from Montreal says that he was inform'd by a Major Campbell[9] that You had receiv'd a Commission in the Army however I hope it may turn out to Your wishes In that case I would if You and the rest of my friends thought proper go and try my fortune in your place as the Expectations and Prospects in this Country as my Uncle Alexander can inform you are very distant and precarious

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[2] Antoine François Fourcroy (1755-1809), French chemist.

[3] Antoine Laurent Lavoisier (1743-1794), French chemist.

[4] William Cullen (1710-1790), professor of chemistry at the University of Edinburgh, published his chief work, *First Lines of the Practice of Physics,* in 1774. The second edition appeared in Edinburgh under the following title: *First Lines of the Practice of Physics, for the Use of the Students in the University of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1778-84). The *Catalogue of the British Museum* lists additionally under Cullen's name, *First Lines of Physiology . . . Translated from the Correct Latin Edition* [Edinburgh], 1779.

[5] Henry Munro (1770-1854), a surgeon in the service of the North West Company, was stationed at Grand Portage. In 1805 he was sent to Fort Pic, on the north shore of Lake Superior. He was appointed surgeon's mate in the Corps of Canadian Voyageurs raised by the North West Company in 1812.

[6] Henry McKenzie (1781-1832), a brother of Roderick McKenzie and cousin of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, on the death of Simon McTavish was appointed to manage his seigniory and mills at Terrebonne. When Sir Alexander went to Great Britain, Henry McKenzie managed his affairs in Canada. In 1814 he became a member of the firm of McTavish, McGillivrays, and Co. In the following year he married Anne, sister of Angus Bethune, a distant relative of Dr. John McLoughlin's second wife.

[7] Kaministikwia, an old French fur trading post, on the site of the present city of Fort William, near the mouth of the Kaministikwia River on Lake Superior, was rebuilt by the North West Company in 1801 when it became apparent that Grand Portage was probably in American territory. The post, in 1805, renamed Fort William in honor of William McGillivray, principal director of the North West Company, became the wilderness headquarters. The partners held here their annual meetings, from 1802 to 1821.

I am Dear Sir Your Very humble Serv't And Affectionate Nephew

JOHN McLOUGHLIN

DR. SIMON FRASER terre bonne

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4. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

KAMINISTIQUIA, 11th August 1806

DR. SIMON FRASER, Terre-Bonne

MY DEAR SIR: I wrote you a few days ago and if I write now it is not because I have anything new to mention but I want to tell you (which I hope that you are well aware of before) that my sense of gratitude to you for your very kind attention is still the same. Now, as to my practice which has been very extensive this summer, among my patients I had one with the King's evil[10] whom I cur'd by applying the common sorrel in form of a poultice to the part affected. The manner of preparing the poultice is as follows: To as much of sorrel as you think proper, pound it in a mortar till it is reduced to a kind of pulp, then put it into an unglas'd earthen pot and allow it to macerate in its own juice over a gentle fire until it becomes of a proper consistency and to be applied in as warm as the patient can endure to the naked sore. The patient I had complain'd it hurt him much and on the very first application the sore assumed a red colour.

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[8] William McKay (1772-1832), brother of Alexander McKay, was a partner in the North West Company from 1796 to 1807. McKay Street, in Montreal, is called after him. His brother, in 1810, became a partner in John Astor's Pacific Fur Company and was murdered by Indians in the summer of 1811. His brother's half-breed widow, Marguerite Wadin McKay, afterwards married Dr. John McLoughlin.

[9] Probably one of the Campbells, battle companions of Malcolm Fraser, who participated in General James Wolfe's Canadian campaign as officers of the Highlanders.

[10] King's evil, an old name given to the scrofula that in popular estimation was deemed capable of cure by the royal touch.

I have adopted Dr. Darwin's[11] theory i.e. that ulcers of this nature are from deficiency of irritability, and I imagine that there is an assumption of oxigene from the sorrel that gives the sore the red colour and irritates the part to a discharge of matter, in short, gives it the irritability it want'd before. I have had no other case of consequence. I read much on the virtues of Phosphate of Lime in this disease. I would be much obliged to you if you could send me a little as this is a common disease with the indians and in return I would give you an account of its success. Now as to myself who am going to winter in about ten days march from this at a new place, I am told it is a very good country thereabouts. I would be much oblig'd if you saw or heard of any new publication worth studying that you would procure it for me and give to any safe person to give it to me, also if you would let me know of any new discovery in medicine you hear off. I would not trouble you if I did not think but that you would take pleasure in doing me any little kindness as this in your power.

I am, Dear Sir, Your affectionate nephew, JOHN McLOUGHLIN

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5. DAVID McLOUGHLIN TO ALEXANDER FRASER

QUEBEC 20 Augt 1807

DEAR UNCLE Your kind favor of the 13th Instant only came to hand yesterday. At the contents of which I am much grieved to find I should trouble you so much but could you allow me to propose a plan which I hope will relieve the difficulties and meet your approbation. It is that my Uncle Simon in a letter to me dated the 6 Augt says I will pay one third of your college expence, also in a letter to my grandfather of the same date he says I will give £ 100 towards defraying the young man's expense at College. Now could you write my Uncle Simon to obtain that £ 100 at present I would go off with that sum/and I am certain will be enough for a year/so that between this and Next Summer, something better may turn up and you would be able to send me the sum you mention without distressing yourself which will be sufficient to compleat my education as I intend remaining only two Winters. I am sorry to see my Uncle Simon should think my education would cost £ 700 when he knows young men are able to complete their studies with 1/3 that sum and I would almost say with less. I am informed from a young man now studying in Edinh that £ 80 can maintain him a whole year paying his board Lectures cloathing etc. And I am certain the same sum will be able to maintain me. Alexander's Leg is now quite well and has been so for these three weeks past, he is now at Rivière-du-loup. I expect him up every day.

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[11] Erasmus Darwin (1731-1802), English physician and poet, expressed his opinion on scrofula in his treatise on "Diseases of Irritation," a subdivision of his most important scientific work, *Zoonomia* (1794-96). Among the diseases caused by "decreased irritation" Charles Robert Darwin's grandfather lists the king's evil. Erasmus Darwin, *Zoonomia; or, the Laws of Organic Life,* 2 vols. (2nd Amer., 3rd London ed., Boston, 1803), II, pp. 97-99.

I remain Dear Uncle Your affect Nephew DAVID McLOUGHLIN
ALEXANDER FRASER Esqr

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6. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

FORT WILLIAM 1st July 1808

MY DEAR SIR You cannot think what a sensible satisfaction I had on receiving your very kind Epistle by Mr R McKenzie [12] although It was a good deal diminesh'd at the thoughts of what diffeculties My brother [13] was Exposed to I really think his situation very distressing and hope to do every thing in my power to relieve him – I was, it is true, against (in my own mind) his following the Medical profession as I thought he was not sure of being sent to College however when I understood that he had been promis'd that he would have a certain allowance for that purpose I chang'd my opinion, but now as things stand I think he is worse off than ever as for myself I cannot accuse no one but myself of my bad fortune as it was entirely by my own want of conduct that I came up to this Country though it was a great deal too by the promises that you said were made you for me that I consent'd as I would much rather have gone to the West Indies as you propos'd let me tell you that this sad Experiment has cost me five Years You tell me in your letter that they would Increase my wages I think they may as I have been doing Dr Munros duty these five years without having any allowance although I recollect your telling me that if required to practice I would have £ 100 i e Dr Munros Salary. now the 1st year I came here Dr Munro's time was out and tho I was oblig'd all along to do his duty which is known by every one of them yet they engag'd him and gave him the salary that was promis'd to me nor yet would I have thought so much of this as the Opposition was in the

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[12] Roderick McKenzie (1761-1844), older brother of Henry McKenzie and cousin of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in 1800, became a partner of McTavish, Frobisher, and Co. In the following year he retired from active participation in the fur trade. He continued, however, to be a dormant partner in the firm (later McTavish, McGillivrays, and Co.) until its failure in 1825. In 1804 he purchased from the estate of Simon McTavish the seigniory of Terrebonne where he lived till his death. Dr. Simon Fraser, Dr. John McLoughlin's uncle, practiced medicine in the same town near Montreal.

[13] David McLoughlin, Dr. John McLoughlin's younger brother, faced serious financial difficulties while studying medicine at the University of Edinburgh from 1807 to 1811.

Country I thought that was to keep them from leaving the Company, the 2nd Year he went down in this Winter the coalition[14] took place and though what had pass'd already yet he was engag'd allow'd the salary and I was requir'd to practice while he was sent to an Indian post the Injustice of all this is too aperent for me to pass Over at the same time that my puting up with it will not advance my Interest a bit you will not I suppose after you have perus'd this Accuse me of want of Steadiness as I well Know that with your usual candor you will Judge whether I ought to put up with a *wrong to give it no other name.* a few days ago Mr. R McKenzie ask'd me as a friend if I was going down & (I use his own words) I told him I was undecided with that he told me that I had better say I was going – (this I beg of you to keep as a Secret so that if they want me I might ask better terms) You must observe that his advice) as people in this Country often play this Stratagem to get better terms – however to tell you my mind freely I think I will go down for unless they give me two hundred a year and certain promise that I will come in for a share at the Experation of two or three Years I will go down first I sincerely prefer living on potatoes and milk than in this country on any Other terms, what makes me of this Opinion is that the Country is geting ruin'd more and more every year – so that in time it will be little better than exhaust'd and that even the length of time to come in could be better employ'd and more agreably spent in any other place than this at the same time that when a man has been for any time in this Country he is entirely unfit for any other while the shares are so small that even after a Person has been ten or 12 Years he cannot boast of Any great riches as to the whole of this My Uncle Alexander can Explain it to You better than me – It is true that Mr McKenzie told me they would do something handsome for me but I must tell you that I will receive no pecuniary present as with that they would imagine to soothe me however this is only a Supposition of mine time will unfold All But be assur'd that neither time nor adversity will efface the obligations I am under to You

I am My Dear Uncle
With the greatest Sincerety Your Affectionate Nephew
John McLoughlin

Dr. Simon Fraser Terre Bonne
Hor Per Wm McKay Esq

N B You will I suppose excuse the Incoherencies of my stile you may Judge from this of the sad situation so therefore beg that after perusal you will comit this to the flames – I am J. McL –

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[14] The coalition between the North West Company and the New North West Company, commonly called the XY Company, took place on November 5, 1804.

7. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

Fort William, 13th July 1808

My Dear Sir, I sit down to write under a very dejected state of mind, as three days ago I had a meeting with Mr. McGilivray [15] and the terms he offer'd were one hundred and fifty pounds with expectations only as other young men.

These terms on two accounts I reject'd the 1st because they were less than Dr. Munro, although I had serv'd an apprenticeship to them of 5 years for 100 £., whereas Dr. Munro had a hundred a year the first four years and two hundred every year after. My 2nd objection was that I had expectations (indeed I understood it so) that my serving an apprenticeship gave me a certain right to look to prospects in the country in a short time after my indentures. Even the comparison of 150 £ to 200 £ is disgusting enough to make me leave the country. I will give you an account of our meeting as it happen'd, Mr. McGilivray sent for me and after his explaining for what he told me the salary, and seem'd to wait for my answer, on which I ask'd him what prospects I had in the country, he quickly answer'd those of other young men of character. I told him I understood otherwise on my engaging to the Company for that I would not have given five years of my time after studying a profession for the paltry sum of 100 £. With that, he told me to think of his offers and give him an answer that he would not stand on a triffle, but it was impossible for him to give me expectations. I told him that I did not like the proposals and therefore was going down. You now see the whole. I suppose that you are of my mind that the first proposal was not equal to my hopes and what this triffle in the other is I do not know. It is certainly very hard for me to lose my time but it cannot be help'd. I am determined to go and settle at Detroit. It is certain that I will not lay up that sum but I will live in a Christian Country and live more happy than I do here. At the same time, I will have this consolation – I am my own master. It is true that I have but little to begin with but little will do. However, there is one thought that unmans my fortitude and that is the fear that my brother David should [not] finish his education through want of means. It was and is still (if I should remain) my intention to help him as much as possible, indeed to be answerable for what necessary amount he should require. Now that you have my thoughts and actions in full view I hope that you will judge with candour, which you have had the goodness always to do, and depend that if I did not accept these offers it was not from whim but from a certain degree of independence that makes a man act with virtuous pride.

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[15] William McGillivray (1764-1825) became a partner in the North West Company in 1790. At the death of his uncle Simon McTavish, in 1804, he succeeded him as chief director of the company.

I remain, My Dear Sir, Your affectionate nephew

John McLoughlin

N. B. My mind is distress'd, so beg you will excuse the incoherency of my stile. I will not write all this to my Uncle Alexander, but beg you would send him this.

I am, Dear Sir, Your affectionate nephew

John McLoughlin

Fort William, 13th July 1808

In course of conversation, I mention'd to Mr. McGillivray that I would never have serv'd them had I not understood that my five years apprenticeship gave me a certain right to look to expectations at their expiration or a short time after . . . He told me no promise of the kind could be made *by any body.*

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8. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

My Dear Sir I have accept'd two hundred a Year. I have not time to write more as the Gentlemen are just ready to embark

I am Dear with Sincerety Your Affectionate Nephew

John McLoughlin

Fort William 16th July 1808

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9. ALEXANDER FRASER TO DR. SIMON FRASER

River St. Maurice[16] 20 July 1808

Dear Simon The other day I received a letter from David. He gives me to understand that his finances are nearly out. I am much alarmed for his situation among strangers. I shall soon write him and advise him to draw on you or on me for One Hundred Pounds payable about May next. The difficulty on my side is that no person in the Country will venture to give him the money as no one there has the least acquaintance of me. When you write to David you might, with very little trouble to yourself impower him to address his bill on you and then I will secure your repayment. Doing this you will lay him under a great obligation and do me a favour. The *Bête* his Father writes me this month a long unconnected story which ends that he had not been able to sell a lot of land to raise money for his son

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[16] Saint Maurice, a river in the Canadian province of Quebec, after a course of three hundred and fifty miles, joins the St. Lawrence at Three Rivers, almost halfway between Quebec and Montreal. The letter is postmarked Three Rivers.

David. Mr. Smith Sugerman of St Anns had promised the last winter to lend me on interest £ 200 at the time appointed. He has declined. He is not the less of a R. C. He might have advised me in time – I have had no account from Quebec. My Father was at MalBay when he wrote me in June – he is to come to Quebec in this Mo.– Will you take the trouble to write a few lines to my Lad Alex and ask him if he has thought on the course he would wish to follow. His answer may enable [me] to judge his capacity. Mr. John Ried has seen him this summer. He was good enough to give me a pleasing account of him – he is now old enough to be placed to something and so many appeal to me that I find my means draining.

I did not write to John McLoughlin the last spring. He will prabably take the Huff and be silent. If you hear from him let me hear – he had an idea to return to Canada this Summer. What and how to dispose of him you are best able to tell. I will not admire him if he has refused any liberal proposal from the Company. He now has lost too much time in that Country and prudence ought to tell him that that Country should retribute him from the past. Offer my best compliments to Mr. R. McKenzie and to Mr. Henry McKenzie. I shall write to Mr. McKenzie soon after his return from the Grand Portage.[17]

I remain Yours most affectionately Alex Fraser

To – Doctor Fraser, Terre Bonne near Montreal

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10. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

Fort William, 11th August 1808

Dr Simon Fraser, Terre Bonne

Dear Sir, I have to beg you will be so good as cause my brother if he is in want of it to get the 100 £ sterling I mention in the inclos'd as I agreed with Mr McKenzie that I might draw it (indeed he has the goodness to allow me to draw it in advance). I am Dear Sir, in an uncommon degree

Your oblig'd and affectionate nephew John McLoughlin

n. b. You will believe my sincerity I hope when I tell you that nothing but my brother's situation could occasion my drawing money before it was due. Please also to address the inclos'd.

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[17] Grand Portage, a fur trading post of the North West Company at the western end of the canoe route from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods, via Pigeon River, was situated at the bottom of a shallow bay, on the northwest shore of Lake Superior, about thirty miles west of the Kaministikwia River. Until 1803 the post was the wilderness headquarters of the North West Company. By this time it had become clear that Grand Portage was in United States territory, and the North West Company removed its headquarters to Kaministikwia.

11. MALCOLM FRASER TO DR. SIMON FRASER

MURRAY BAY 26th Septr 1808 [18]

DEAR SIMON I wrote you as I think near two months ago acknowledging the receipt of two of your Letters one which mortifyed me very much but the other made some attonement. I also then wrote you that I had a long letter from David McLoughlin wherein he laments, as I do, his being in a strange Land without friends or money and alas! tho' I feel very much for him it is utterly impossible for me to assist him at this time owing to my disappointments by those who are greatly indebted to me some of whom and those who owe me most I am afraid I must sue and thus expose them and myself before they will pay me. In short you may believe me when I tell you that I am obliged to keep out of sight for want of cash as I cannot at this time command ten Dollars tho' there is more than 1000 due. I have had no answer to my last, from you which surprises me much and am afraid you did not receive it I there stressed and now repeat that I hope you will be able to remitt at least £ 30 to David this Fall and if you can possibly make it fifty pounds so much the better as I have reason to think he merits and stands much in need of assistance and tho' it may incommode you at present you cannot lose as I will guarantee your reimbursement by Alexander from whom I lately received a Letter impowering me to raise and remitt £ 100 to David for which he will be answerable and I am in no doubt as to his capacity as well as good will tho' not at this time. I now therefore most earnestly solicit you to use every practicable means to remitt £ 50 or as much more as you can to David this Fall for which I will guarantee you the payment at all events with Interest and I anxiously request your answer without delay.

I intend to cross over from hence to River du Loup in a Fortnight but you may send your Answer to this to the care of Mr. McCord [19] at Quebec who will forward it to me

I ever am Yours affectionately MALCOLM FFRASER

DOCTOR SIMON FRASER
at Terrebonne near Montreal

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[18] "Quebec Oct 1" is stamped on the back of the letter.

[19] John McCord, a merchant of Quebec, was an intimate friend of Malcolm Fraser. The old soldier gave the merchant one of the four original copies of his will that John McCord presented for probate on June 21, 1815.

12. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

Fort William 2nd August [1809]

Dear Uncle I am perfectly of your Opinion that my Brother David might have been employ'd to much better advantage than as a surgeon however since he is gone so far it is too late for him to retract at the same time if not suppli'd with a fresh remittance it will be impossible for him to prosecute his studies – I hope among you (though I write my Grandfather more particularly) that you would send him a draft of £ 100 which I shall be able to pay by the first Canoe that goes down – You will perhaps think it extravagant allowing him so much Money but as for me I think that since he is about his Studies he ought to complete them Yet I cannot but own it *costs* a good deal but It cannot be help'd

I am sorry to find you have never as Yet gave me a positive Answer whether it had been promis'd you for me that If I was requir'd to practice during my apprenticeship I should have a Salary of £ 100 P Annum – I suppose you are well aware I had only £ 100 for my five years If I ask so it is not for to make any Enquiries to others but only as a satisfaction to myself

I do not know whether I should be Joyful or sad at My Uncle Alexander retiring from the N W as the Motives are Unknown to me I cannot Judge however I hope you will not mention it to any One what I am going to inform You – It has been TOLD me the cause of my Uncles retireing from the North West is some cause of disgust that he had from the Agents below but the Wintering partners have espous'd his cause and allow'd him to go on his Rotation this intitles him to the liberty of comeing up here next Year and going to winter if he chuses or Retireing Indeed it is hoped by his friends that he will come up Next Year time will determine most prudent Choice

I am My Dear Uncle Your Affectionate Nephew

John McLoughlin

To Dr Simon Fraser, Terre Bonne
Per favor of Mr A. Dowie

13. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

Fort William, June 27, 1810

Dear Sir, I am sorry that my being just now inform'd that Mr. Ogilby [20] is going away tomorrow at one a.m. prevents my having it in my power to write you as long a letter as I wish. I shall therefore make this only a letter of business. In the first place, I am sorry you did not commend me in writing the account regarding my engagement as I request'd of you in fall 1807, as it might then have been of great use to me, but I shall write you this more fully in next. This therefore, is only to request your causing my Brother David (if he requires it) to receive one hundred pounds, on my account, for which Sum I will get you credit'd by the house in Montreal. As you may perhaps see my uncle Alexander before I write him, be so good as to remember me to him and assure him I am very sensible of his good intentions towards me, and by the next opportunity I will write him so myself, and likewise to my good grandfather, Col Fraser, to whom I shall likewise write. Pray remember me to Mr. R. McKenzie. He has been my best friend to a stranger I ever found. Inform him likewise I have done what I promis'd and he requir'd, and that I will send him it by the next opportunity. The short notice I receiv'd prevents my writing him, as for yourself, Sir, I hope you are well assur'd that I am with sincerity,

Your affectionate nephew John McLoughlin
To Dr. Simon Fraser Terrebonne.

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14. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

Fort William 2nd August 1810

Dear Sir, In a day or two I take my departure for my winter quarters, which perhaps will be the last I will pass in this Country, though I have not given my Employers any formal information of this yet. I have told several that I thought I would go down next year but whether I came back again or not was uncertain. My uncle Alexander writes me that on his retireing from being an active partner in the business he wish'd to make a transfer of his interest in my favor for which I should have been accountable for the value to him or else appoint me his attorney. Mr. McGilivray told him it could not be done nor would it add to my advantage, and that

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[20] John Ogilvy (1769-1819), partner of Parker, Gerrard, and Ogilvy and head of the XY Company, in 1804, with the amalgamation of XY and North West companies, acquired an indirect interest in the North West Company. In 1817 he was appointed a commissioner, under the Treaty of Ghent, for determining the boundaries of British North America.

I was afraid of [not] getting an interest in the Country as soon as any of the Gentlemen of my *standing*. This is directly contrary to what you told and wrote me, your words in your letter of the 20th May last are: "When I engag'd you to the N W Co., Mr. McTavish[21] told me the Company would allow you a hundred pounds per annum if requir'd to practice as a surgeon, but he would not advise you to take it for if you went on the common wages the Company would take into consideration the time you serv'd as an apprentice to a surgeon, that is to say, would reckon your services from 1797, that in consequence of this you should be bound for five years only whilst others were for seven years." You see how different the answer my uncle Alexander got is to the promises made you. It is well known that even while Dr. Munro was in the Country I act'd always as surgeon and that he only act'd now and then when he happen'd to be here before I came from my wintering place or remain'd after I was gone and receiv'd only one hundred pounds for my five years service. So much for myself. As to the other part of your letter regarding my Brother, I am happy that you have remit'd him the hundred pounds but, by the by, I had given orders to that effect and, if my memory does not fail me, with both you, my grandfather and my uncle Alexander, to advance that sum on my account. And this year if you or my uncle Alexander should require it, the Company's Agents will pay you a hundred pounds on my account to be remitt'd if necessary to David. I do not know where I would advise David to settle, and therefore leave it all to himself, and will conclude my letter with the usual way, though I hope you will do me justice to believe that with sincerity and esteem,

I am, Dear Uncle, Your affectionate nephew

JOHN McLOUGHLIN

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15. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

FORT WILLIAM, 12 August 1811

DEAR SIR I did myself the pleasure of writing you some time ago, as also to David and enclosed a draft of one hundred pounds to him at the same time informed Mr William MacKay of it I beg in case you yet have David's letter that you will open it take out the draft and cause him if necessary to receive the money some how or other my Reason for wishing you to take the draft out of the letter is the fear I have it may be taken out of the letter by some body else and lost both to him and me It is very strange that you could not have fallen on some regular plan to remit him money God knows he has suffered enough of disappointments who is to blame I do not know but surely sending him to a foreign country and leaving without support is not becoming it is true I cannot say who is in the fault, but will give you Extracts from Davids letter and leave you to judge his words are "I must in the first place give you my most hearty and sincere thanks for the money you desired my uncle 18 months ago to be remitted me, I *have as yet not received a single farthing*["] You wrote me also that you had requested the House in Montreal to advance a hundred pounds in consequence of which he wrote them they answered he had no credit, you wrote David again that you had mentioned the case to the Gentlemen in Montreal, without telling him how he was to proceed, or whether he really had now full leave to draw, in another place David says "not less unaccountable is the mistake that has crept into my Uncle and Grandfathers letter, the former tells me I have one hundred["] Col Fraser on the other hand writes me ["]your Uncle writes me he hopes it will soon be in his power to remit you an hundred["] without saying if he has wrote here to give me credit or not in case he should have wrote without telling me I applied to them all but in vain, he never mentioned a Syllable on the subject—"had the 100 you mention come to hand I would have been able to leave this 10 months ago but here I am running in Debt and losing my time" My Intention by sending you these extracts is not to hint any Obligation far from it I know their is none. You have already done as handsomely as could be expected and my only intention is to shew you that in consequence of some Inaccuracies or mistakes or misunderstanding he has been put to some difficulty However by this time I hope he is in an other and better situation but I am sorry that he should be the cause of any disagreement arising between you and my uncle Alexander I am fully convinced you have done your best and for which you have my warmest gratitude it is true at times (to be candid) when I consider how David has been situated of late, I feel grieved but as I cannot blame no one, I must pass over. It is certainly a very unfortunate thing to be dependant on another but still worse to be dependant on several and that David has found to his cost but I will drop the subject and let me give you some account of myself In a few days I start for my wintering Grounds at a place called Vermilion lake, it is a very poor place and be assured had it not been for the money that I advanced David I would have gone down this year However now as it is I cannot say when I will I requested you last year to be so good as send me up some books You have I believe forgot me I only want the loan of such as you have and can spare and by doing it you will oblige Dear Sir

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[21] Simon McTavish (1750-1804), head of McTavish, Frobisher, and Co., the "Marquis" of the Canadian fur trade, served as general manager of the North West Company.

Your Affectionate Nephew JOHN McLOUGHLIN....

N B if David is in Canada I hope he will write me a long letter with heads of all new medical discovery I have wrote him so

DR SIMON FRASER, Terre Bonne
Favored per Angus Shaw Esq.

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16. MALCOLM FRASER TO SIMON FRASER[22]

MURRAYBAY 9th March 1812

DEAR SIMON I have had no letter from you that I can find since the one dated the 18th and which I think I had the pleasure of receiving on the 28th July last and I meant to go to Quebec last fall and to have wrote you on my arrival there; But I had some matters to settle here which detained me till it was too late for me to travel so that I was obliged to pass the winter at this place and which I have now almost done, Gratias Deo, as well as could be expected at my advanced age. But as I am not so fond of walking nor of writing as I was fifty years ago I hope this will excuse me to you for my negligence and long silence.

I must now however acknowledge that I am very well pleased with the manner in which you seem to have settled Mr Ker's[23] draft on you as well as the several other sums you was so kind as to advance for David Macloughlin and as I flatter myself that Mr Fraser of Ford has received payment of your draft in his favour for £ 150. I hope as you do that there will be nearly sufficient to pay Doctor McLoughlin's Creditors in Edinburgh and I wrote to Mr Fraser last Fall and mentioned this business to him as you directed.

I send you inclosed or rather subjoined my Power to you to retain the annuity of £ 30. p annum, which you are bound to pay me, untill you are reimbursed £ 200. currency of the advances you have been so good as to make for Dr Macloughlin and I request you to accept of it as being the only way in which I can at present prevent your losing those advances entirely and in case of my death you may have recourse on my other Estate for what may then remain unpaid of the £ 200. and which you by no means merit the loss of: Indeed had a certain friend of yours and mine done his duty neither you nor I ought to have had so much trouble! and the poor young man needed not to have been exposed to so much want as I am afraid he has been, However we must now endeavour to arrange the business as well as we can. By the bye I must tell you that I have had no Letter from David either this or last year, and, if you can I wish you to let me know what has become of him and of his Brother Doctor John? I do not recollect anything further I need trouble my self in writing at this time But to assure you that I will ever remain

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[22] See illustration, Plate 2 (page 260).

[23] James Ker, "a wise, prudent, farseeing" banker in Leith near Edinburgh, was married to a niece of John Nairne (1731-1802), seignior of Murray Bay, battle companion and friend of Malcolm Fraser.

Your affectionate Father MALCOLM FFRASER

Captain Thomas Nairne [24] has been here for three weeks past and carries this letter to Quebec and as he proposes to leave this place in a few days I thought myself in conscience bound to write you at this time. I propose going to Quebec by the first navigation and after settling some business there intend D.G. to go to Riviere du Loup, but I expect that you will write me on receipt of this. I had a letter from Mrs. Langan [25] on the 20 Novr last and I write to her at this time. You do right to call on her when you are at Montreal and to let me know from time to time how she and her family do? Pray what has or is to become of Doctor John Macloughlin?

MFF

I do hereby impower Doctor Simon Fraser of Terrebonne to retain in his hands an annuity of thirty pounds which he is bound to pay to me during my life and that untill he the said Doctor Simon Fraser is repaid the sum of Two hundred pounds currency which he advanced for David Macloughlin late Student of Physick at the university of Edinburgh In Witness whereof I have written and subscribed these presents At Murray bay or Malbay [26] this ninth day of March in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and twelve MALCOLM FFRASER

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17. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

DEAR SIR This is the first Oppertunity I have had of writeing you from my winter quarters and you may see by my being so punctual in Embraceing it that I take a sincere satisfaction in corresponding with you, even when I have nothing more to say that that I am well

I suppose by this time David has Entered on the Practice of his Profession – and in which you may depend I wish him success – I already observed to you the mortification It gave me that David should be the cause Innocently of any disagreement between you and my Uncle Alexander their is nothing so disagreeable as family dissentions Especially if publicly Known – of yours and my Uncles Quarerel Mr MacGilivray informed me at fort William – from whom he got his information I do not know had you or my Uncle Alexander or My Grandfather look back to my letters of 1809 you would have seen that I request'd you or My Uncle Alexander to do me the pleasure to advance 100 £ on my account but perhaps you did not receive the letter – the only reason for my speaking of it now is that had it been compli'd with it would have prevent'd dissention

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[24] Thomas Nairne (1787-1813), youngest son of Colonel John Nairne and Malcolm Fraser's godchild, held a capitaincy in the 49th Regiment of Foot.

[25] Julienne Langan (1791-1847), daughter of Malcolm Fraser.

[26] Malbaie is the original French name. It was changed to Murray Bay in honor of General James Murray, who succeeded General James Wolfe, of the English forces, after Wolfe was killed when the English captured Quebec in 1759. The local inhabitants still insist on calling it Malbaie. It was so named because of the bad tides encountered there at times.

In my first letter to David Last Year I Inclos'd a draft for one hundr'd pounds but on recollection – for fear of Accident I requested Mr McKenzie to whom I deliver'd my letter to Inform you of it and request you to draw and remit David the amount his was what may be called a second thought and took Place as he was Embarking or else I would have Inclos'd it in Yours But all this I have already mention'd in my letters of last fall

I do not know whether I inform'd you the terms on which I remain'd you perhaps may have heard it from others – in case not – you are to know that I am engag'd for three years and at the End come in for a Share of the advantages of the Country that is in the outfit of 1814

I had offers to go to to the Columbia – from Ax McKenzie [27]– as you well know – pray do write me whatever information you may collect regarding his Success – I feel an Interest in his wellfare – from this Reason I know he wish'd me well – but among my well wishers their is none who has given more substantial proof of it than you, and believe me it is from my heart I subscribe myself

Your Gratefull and Affectionate Nephew JOHN McLOUGHLIN

N B my letter is Expend'd therefore hope you will excuse this half sheet

Vermilion Lake [28] 22nd March 1812

DR SIMON FRASER Terre Bonne

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18. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

FORT WILLIAM 12th August 1812

DEAR SIR Your letter surpris'd me not a little I never imagin'd I gave you so much offence by expressing my disappointment at my Brothers not receiveing the remittance I sent him – it is true I May have express'd myself warmly but I believe not impertinently – but their is an other subject which hurts me much. It seems to me your Memory must deceeve you – I understood from You when I was engage to the N[orth] W[est] Company that I was to be Engag'd for five Years – and have a hundred a Year for practiceing as surgeon. (if I was requir'd) if not that I was to have allowance for the time I had serv'd to a Surgeon you say this promise dies with Mr McTavish did I serve Mr McTavish alone or was it not understood that at least he spoke in the Name of the Company however it is now too late to speak on this subject so I shall drop [it] – however to prove to you I am correct in my statement in your letter to me dated 20th May 1810, You say "when I engag'd you to the N[orth] W[est] Cop Mr McTavish told me that the Company would allow you a 100 £ a Year if requir'd to practice as a Surgeon" of course then his promise does not die with him it clearly appears he spoke as if he was empowr'd by the Company – but it is needless to speak of this now

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[27] Alexander McKenzie (1767-1830), nephew of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, became a partner in the North West Company in 1804. From 1811 to 1812 he was the company's agent at Fort William.

[28] Vermilion Lake, St. Louis County, Minnesota. About twenty miles in length, its outlet, the Vermilion River, runs northward and enters Rainy Lake.

I am greatly vex'd at Davids disappointment he has a draft of one hundred pounds to draw on the N W Co. which I remit'd him last Year. I hope this will with his own Exertion clear him from his difficulties – his situation and Embarrasment preys much on my mind I would not begrudge Expense when necessary but I will never support Extravagance

I have a promise of becoming a partner of the N W Co on the Outfit of the Year 1814 – but I am Greatly afraid this war will injure this country if not ruin it entirely but it is a thing we cannot help so that we need not repine it is really useless – my Uncle Alexander wrote me that he was making improvements on his Estate he writes it is true but in a very loose stile or rather he fills up his letters with general observations but not a word of what is around him

I receiv'd no letter this Year from David (it is a subject which forces itself on me again) this makes me doubly anxious about him – it is a great misfortune that the proper Method was not taken in remitting him Money for I am certain he had enough but the irregular manner taken in sending it diminish'd it greatly add to this that he was oblig'd to remain one Year after his degrees in Edinburgh – which brought on additional Expense – if I am not mistaken I wrote you last fall to open Davids letter and take the drafts I sent him draw the money yourself and remit it to him I am certain if you look over my letters you will find this if my letter came to hand, however be this as it may If he has not receiv'd the 100 £ you will if you please draw it and either pay those Bills which are drawn on You or send him the money as you think even if you thought proper to add fifty to it provid'd you thought it necessary I would have no objections I have given directions [torn] you might either get the money or a draft m[torn] allowance for the difference of the Exchange but [torn] Kenneth McKenzie [29] knows my Intentions on the [torn] he will inform You if You dont find this enough with due Sentiments of Esteem and Regard

I am Dear Sir Your Affectionate Nephew JOHN MCLOUGHLIN
To DR. SIMON FRASER, Terrebone
Favour'd by K. McKenzie Esq.

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19. ALEXANDER FRASER TO DONALD McTAVISH [30]

(Writer's copy)

RIVER DU LOUP, 6 September 1812

MY DEAR MACTAVISH The bearer is the Young Man my Son [Alexander] you met at Quebec He will Pass his Indentures at his return. I have given him a whole Cargo of advice, that with my Blessing Him I consign to your protection. he will probably want some things before he leaves London for the North Pacific say to the value of £ 20 or £ 30 up to that sum if you think proper I shall account – Mr Jas Hallowell [31] is to allow him on my Account £ 60 – now he will only have such as wearing apparel to draw on this money I hope it will be fully sufficient – I am you know remote from the Beau Monde, nothing can I inform you of but what our mutual friends of Montreal will treat you with. May Happiness and success ever be with you. with affection My dear Mactavish Yours most truly AFF

DOND. MCTAVISH Esq London

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20. ALEXANDER FRASER TO DR. DAVID McLOUGHLIN

(Writer's copy) [32]

RIVER DU LOUP 6 Septr 1812

DEAR DAVID Having repeated wrote to you the judgment of your Silence bears a strong mark of ingratitude [to] your Poor Parents, to whom you should have wrote You most wrongfully impute your disappointment at Edinburgh to me mere Hasard brought me June last to the knowledge of a Bill you had drawn on your Uncle Simon in favour of a Mr Ker of Edinburgh, which appeared Protested. it will I hope be paid as the moment I was informed, I waited on Mr James Hallowell who promised me he would place the sum to your a/c debit in their books. before you again Censur learn that Doctor Fraser had the transacting the remittances to you with him I hope I shall never again Correspond – Was my means as great as the desires of some on them I should not now be obliged to Bind my Son to go as a North West Clerk to the North Pacific Ocean, when only want of money has prevented him of being put to the medical profession You are too greedy a man to be told much about your family they are all well and may a day come for you to enquire how they do. With wishes for your prosperity

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[29] Kenneth McKenzie (d. 1817), apparently a relative of Roderick McKenzie, was made a partner of the North West Company in 1805. He was in charge of Fort William from 1806 to 1816.

[30] Donald McTavish (d. 1814), son of Alexander and also a first cousin of Simon McTavish, was made a partner in the North West Company prior to 1799. He returned to his native Great Britain in 1812. In the next year he commanded the expedition that sailed on the "Isaac Todd" for Fort Astoria. He was drowned near the mouth of the Columbia on May 22, 1814.

[31] James Hallowell (1778-1816), like his father James and his older brother William, was connected with the firm of McTavish, Frobisher, and Co.

[32] See illustration, Plate 3 (page 261).

I am Most affectionately Your AFF

Alex will write you from London and send you this letter

DOCTOR DAV MLOUGHLIN M D
Medical Hosp Portugal [33]

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21. ALEXANDER FRASER TO FARRER SANAUDIERE

(Writer's copy)

RIVER DU LOUP, 6 September 1812

SIR M Trudell of KimousKy sent here sometime ago 7 Prov Statutes of the 7th Parliament for the Rev'd Messers Gagnon Picard McDonald Sellers, Huot, Aquar Penchaud Which I presume was done thro' mistake as these Books can be forwarded to these Revd Gentlemen with greater safety by water from Quebec than by this route I hope you will Sir Accept of my Humble Appology for sending them back to your office with greatest respect. I have the Honor to be

Sir Your mo Ob Servant AFF
FARRER SANAUDIERE Esq
Dept Adt Genl

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[33] This is the only letter indicating where David went after graduating from the University of Edinburgh. Alexander Fraser seems to have been the only member of the family who knew the whereabouts of David.

22. ALEXANDER FRASER TO JULIA LANGAN

(Writer's copy, incomplete letter)

6 September 1812

My dear Julia By Alex I have the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 21st last month I came here the 5th day from Quebec took but one tide in Edw. boat from MalBay to this. Mais cest moy qui etes Capitaine. Your father I hear is in good spirits old Campbell and himself recall General Wolf[34] from his sleep at least twice each day. I have not yet waited on him at the Grande Farm he speaks of soon taking his leave of this for MalBay. the Milicia

[Alexander Fraser]

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23. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

Fort William 6th August 1813

Dear Sir I am sorry to find that after what I wrote you last year you still recollect what I formerly wrote, their is no situation in life more distressing than when a person wishes to please and finds that he labours in vain, if you think I meant to affront or behave disresptful to you – you do me really an Injustice, as far as I know my own Mind depend upon it – It never was my Intention to behave otherwise to you than such as you being my Uncle and Benefactor had a right to Expect, but that I may have made use of some offensive Expression I do not doubt though at present I cannot exactly ascertain their import – but if you will consider, the hurry their is at this place in the Summer of which Mr McKenzie can inform you consequently we have not always time to reflect on what words we may make use of in writeing our friends and again depend on it nothing but inadvertancy could have made me write you, what I have for which I am very sorry and for which I beg Your Pardon, which I can have no hesitation in doing as, I did not wish to offend this year is a Year of Misfortune for me You have I presume heard of my Fathers Death[35] and the Unfortunate Accident by which he lost his life, to me it is very distressing as I never had it in my power to show him any proof of my duty or affection, I have wrote My Uncle Alexander to give my Mother 50 £ and draw on the agents for it – as for David I have not heard a word about him from any one I hope and wish he is doing well I am certain he will be Griev'd on this Occasion – It is a Melancholy one, it engrosses my thoughts so much that it prevents my puting them coherently together – I will dismiss this letter with a Sigh being doubtfull how you may Receive it but depend on it I am sorry to have offend'd You for truth I am

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[34] James Wolfe (1727-1759), major general at the age of thirty-two, commanded the British expedition against Quebec in 1759. In the night of September 12-13, he succeeded in placing his army on the Plains of Abraham, to the west of Quebec. The ensuing battle resulted in the defeat of the French troops and the capture of Quebec. During the fight Wolfe was mortally wounded. As a young lieutenant, Malcolm Fraser was a member of Wolfe's expeditionary force and fought in the battle on the Plains of Abraham.

Dear Sir Your Affectionate Nephew JOHN McLOUGHLIN

N B I have had a son of Mr D McKenzie[36] under my charge for the Scrofula (the same lad you had) I tried the application of the Sorrel the Matter turned into a healthy pus the swelling abated and healthy Granulations were formed all Round and the bottom of the sore when he started from this with his father for his Winter Quarter, I am certain however he will not be cur'd as he is so weekd [weakened] this is so painfull an application and I am afraid his father is too indulgent to apply the Medicine in a proper way, this is the second time I have seen its Good effects in this Disease I have tried the salt of sorrel and have found [it] to answer well – I am again &c J McLOUGHLIN

To DR S FRASER, Terre Bonne

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24. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

FORT WILLIAM 28th July 1814

DEAR SIR I am happy to find that you and I are again on Good Understanding nothing on my part I think will be wanting to keep it up indeed nothing is worse and more disagreeable than quarrels between Relations however, I will not say a word more on the subject as you perhaps wish to hear news from me if any thing I know can be new to you or even worth knowing I would certainly send you an Account of all I see or hear But it is the Reverse (the Country which is one Universal sameness) you have heard describ'd by several its Inhabitants also but instead of speaking to you of this part of the world (which is hardly at present worth speaking of) I will give you a part of my *home news* for though distant from my friends I Still call Canada my home and reckon myself only as a Bird of Passage in this After an Intermission of a Year I receiv'd a long letter from my Uncle Alexander giving me an Account of the State of the family at Riv du Loup by which I am happy to hear they are all well. I am surprised to hear he keeps so much out of town – Mr Eneas Cameron[37] who was at his house last year tells me he is very comfortably arraing'd in that place that he has got two Saw Mills and one Grist Mill on his Estate he certainly has the means of being happy if being a Good farmer will do it – It has always been my wish if I had wherewith (to buy a farm and settle in the Country certainly a country [life] is the happiest life in the world. My Uncle Alexr writes me also that my Sister Margarite[38] is Married and that my Grandmother and Mother live together at the Big Farm – he writes me that Mrs L[angan] is a widow I dont know what I have done her I wrote her twice but never receiv'd an Answer, therefore never wrote her again however I cannot but Lament her Misfortune – will you be so good as to let me Know how she is and how her family are Nothing can do me greater pleasure than to hear of the wellfare of my Relations – I hope if alive within a few years to have the pleasure of seeing them at least I hope to go [to] where they are at present. You cannot think how I long to go down, this makes my time pass on very disagreably in the Interior in Winter – it makes my time appear long – I feel loansome, and quite low spirited. People talk of the dessert of Siberia, but this is as bad the only difference is that there People are sent and kept in it by force here they come by choice for my part I am sorry I ever came to it however this was perhaps not a matter of Choice but of Necessity on my part I am quite at a loss what to say or think of my Uncle Alexander, who with his Knowledge of this part of the world, yet sent his son to it – I have heard he is arriv'd in the Columbia and is very well spoken off by the Gentlemen who were there, however I am sorry to say he is in the most dangerous part of all the N W – But to return to your letter It certainly grieves me much to find [that] my Brother David has been Instrumental or cause of disagreement between you and my Uncle Alexander I had heard of this before but from no Good authority those who told me said such and Such was the case they thought they had heard, but were not certain. The draft you sent me a Copy of with a letter from Mr Russel was it paid – I was told it was paid their was a Mr David Stuart[39] here on his way from the Columbia to Montreal, he is Nephew to the deceas'd Mr Peter Stuart, and every Respects a most worthy Man he told me he would go to Terre-Bonne, I suppose before you Receive this you will have seen him I certainly think him a most dese[r]ving honest man he seems to be well acquaint'd with my Grandfather you will also see Mr Donald McKenzie, you know my opinion of him already – he is I believe one of my friends as much as a Stranger can be to anothers he will present you with a Sea Otter from me and which I Beg you to Accept as a mark of the Regard and Respect which is due you by Dear Sir Your Affectionate Nephew

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[35] Cultivateur John McLoughlin was drowned in the St. Lawrence River on April 28, 1813.

[36] Probably Roderick McKenzie, the half-breed son of Daniel McKenzie (1796-1832). From 1813 to 1815 his father was at Fond du Lac, a fur trading post at the western end of Lake Superior, at the mouth of St. Louis River.

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[37] Aeneas Cameron (1757-1822), a wintering partner of the North West Company, seems to have been employed as financial agent in the headquarters of the North West Company in Montreal since 1805. In 1812 he was appointed paymaster to the Corps of Canadian Voyageurs raised by the North West Company.

[38] Margerite McLoughlin married Basile Saindon, who died in 1819. In the following year she married Simon Talbot.

JOHN McLOUGHLIN

To DR SIMON FRASER, Terre Bonne

N B I cur'd Mr McKenzies son of the Scrophula by applying Salt of Sorrell to the Sore and the Internal use of Bark

25. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

FORT WILLIAM 16th August 1815

DEAR SIR Your very kind letter I duly Received by Mr Alexander McKenzie who handed it to me at Lac La Pluie[40] the place where I wintered the inteligence you communicated regarding my Brother and sister is very interesting to me I am however very much disappointed at our not having any communication from David surely some accident must have befallen to his letters Removed so far as I am into the wilderness it is not in my power to communicate any thing very new or agreeable to you I am to winter at this place – I saw my uncle Alexander's son my cousin Alexander. he came this far on his way to Canada he was prevailed on by Mr Alex McDonnell[41] to go with him to a place called Red River – it is a very healthy country for my part I neither advised him to go there or go down and told him he was of sufficient age to decide for himself at the same time told him whether he wanted to go or to Remain he would have what Assistance I could give him what induced him to Remain was that as his father sent him to the Country he did not wish to leave it without his fathers approbation – the young man is very spirited and Independent I am surprised my Uncle Alexander would send him to this country had I been going down myself I would certainly have tried to take him down with me – I wrote my Uncle Alexander Expressing my surprise at his sending his son to this Country – my Uncle I believe has taken offence – I meant none – he has not wrote me since – wherefore I was so circumspect I giving my Cousin advice.

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[39] David Stuart (1765-1853) became a partner in John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company in 1810 and was one of the founders of Astoria. He left the Columbia for Canada, on April 4, 1814.

[40] Lac la Pluie, Rainy Lake, one hundred and sixty miles west of Lake Superior, forms part of the boundary between Canada and the United States. It discharges its water by the Rainy River into the Lake of the Woods. The North West Company post was at Kettle Portage on the Rainy River.

[41] Alexander McDonell (d. 1835) was made a partner of the North West Company in 1814 and placed in charge of the Red River department.

I Received no letters from my mother or sisters at Riviere du Loup – how does my Uncle Joseph come on – I wrote him twice he never received my letters perhaps – however I know I never got an answer – I assure you that you have no more interesting information to communicate to me than what concerns my family – and Relatives their welfare be assured lies near my heart

I am my Dear Uncle Your Affectionate Nephew

JOHN McLOUGHLIN

DR SIMON FRASER Terre Bonne
Forwarded by A. McKenzie, Esq.

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26. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

MONTREAL 27th Febry 1817

DEAR SIR I yesterday evening arrived from my tour – I found all my friends well and left them so I have settled all my family affairs My Uncle Alexander made me an offer of £ 1500 for my lands – I think I ought to have £ 2000 – however if I could get a sum between the two I would take it we will chat about this when I see you by the Bye I would have gone to you from L'Assomption [42] but I was anxious to know how things were going on here and it is not worth while going now untill the term is over I cannot in the compass of a letter explain to you all the particulars about the £ 600 in my Grandfathers will – I Know my Grandmother owed him that sum but she had it in her mind that she had paid him with the House Mrs Langan has on cape Diamond [43] now the truth is she made a present of it to Mr Joseph Fraser however this and many other subjects I will explain when I have the pleasure of seeing you the Crops have entirely failed below They cannot make bread with the flour of their wheat accompanying this you will find two letters one from my sister and the other from my Uncle Joseph I called on him going down and coming up he is well and received me very politely all family affairs to repeat what I already I must refer – to a viva voci communication my sisters desired to be remembered to you as also my Grandmother and mother – they are all well With hopes of seeing you soon

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[42] L'Assomption, a town in the province of Quebec, twenty-four miles north of Montreal.

[43] Cape Diamond, a promontory to the west of the junction of the St. Charles River and the St. Lawrence, three hundred and thirty feet high, on which stands the citadel of Quebec.

I am Dear Sir Your Affectionate Nephew JOHN McLOUGHLIN
DR SIMON FRASER Terre Bonne

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27. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

FORT WILLIAM 10th Octr 1817

DEAR SIR Colt Coltman[44] arrived yesterday from the Interior he has succeeded in restoring tranquility to our disorganized indian country Lord Selkirk[45] is making his way out of the N[orth] West by the American territory where he will cast up is uncertain though it is supposed he intends going to Canada he is afraid I suppose of being taken in the western district. His Example in violating the laws is not one he ought to set he who Boasts so much of his wish to introduce laws into this country but this sacrifices the old Motto where there is much law there is little Justice

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[44] William Bacheler Coltman (d. 1826), a Quebec merchant and lieutenant colonel in the militia, in 1816, was appointed commissioner to investigate the disturbances in the Indian territories between the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company. He visited the Red River settlement in 1817.

[45] Thomas Douglas (1771-1820), fifth Earl of Selkirk, with the view of founding a settlement in the Red River Valley, acquired financial control of the Hudson's Bay Company and obtained, in 1811, the cession of forty-five million acres. The first body of colonists established themselves in Assiniboia, near the site of the present city of Winnipeg. The Nor'Westers disputed the right of the Honorable Company to dispose of the territory, and resolved to eliminate the threat against the very existence of their trade. Twice they drove the settlers from their homes with the help of the Métis. On June 19, 1816, a skirmish took place at Seven Oaks, near Fort Douglas, between Nor'Westers and Selkirk's settlers under Robert Semple, whom the Hudson's Bay Company had sent out as governor. Semple and twenty of his men were killed. Lord Selkirk, with a force of disbanded soldiers, on his way from Canada to the Red River, seized the North West Company headquarters at Fort William, on Lake Superior, arrested a number of officers and sent them back to Canada for trial. The following spring he pushed on to the Red River settlement and restored order. The ensuing battle in the Canadian courts resulted in the defeat of Selkirk, in 1818, who was ordered to pay heavy damages. Broken in health, he returned to England; two years later he died at Pau in southern France.

I have been very unwell all this summer indeed at one time I thought I would have gone to the other world – now I am recovering but far from being so well as I was when I left Montreal this spring I cannot think the Judges will make me pay my Bail as I certainly have good cause to be absent

In spite of the disorganisation which his lordships proceedings had introduced into our affairs I believe he will find that our affairs are at least on as good a footing as his Colt Coltman has issued no process against any of those concerned in the Battle of the 19th June and this must proceed from a conviction of the truth that the Half Breeds were not the agressors – Cuthbert Grant [46] goes down to Answer the Charges against him for the Murder of Keveney [47] – he feeling himself innocent gave himself voluntarily up it was not in the power of the Commissioner even supported by us and the HB [Hudson's Bay Company] to have taken him had he been inclined to resist my cousin Alexander is gone to Makinac he has no cause of fear he only with other resisted agressions which every man is undoubtedly entitled to do

I am Dear Sir Your Affectionate Nephew JOHN McLOUGHLIN
DR. SIMON FRASER Terre Bonne

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28. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

MONTREAL 5th Oct 1818

DEAR SIR I yesterday evening arrived from Quebec and from my making a longer stay than I expected I will not be able to go and see you – When I left this for Quebec I thought I would only Remain two or three days but delay from day to day I was disappointed my mother and sisters are all well – as also my Grandmother I went down to see if all the claims I had remitted money to pay had been settled – and from the hurry John Fraser [48] has been in I have not been able to see my account current – and came off as wise as I went you must know that my Sister Mary is Superior of the Urselines. Mr. McCord is very well and I am happy to say that John Fraser is doing very well and in a good business My sister desired me to remember her to you for I told her when I left Quebec that I would call on You but I find it is out of my power you must excuse me indeed I must own it looks very neglectfull on my part that I did not write you before I left this but I was not determined to go down to Quebec till the morning I left this – and intended to go to you first but when we meet I will explain this to you – I am so occupied with my own little Business in one way or other that I cannot command any time and yet I find after all I am doing little or nothing. Our family at River du Loup do not agree better than they did my Uncle Joseph is behind Hand three years of his Rent – My Uncle Alexander has promised to settle this At least I believe he intended to pay the principal – so I understood him would you believe that my disbursements for my family since 1816 to this day amount to about five hundred pounds Halifax [49]– I would think nothing of it if it made them comfortable but I am sorry to say I believe they are not some fatality attends me and my relations – These are things I mention to you only my Grandmother and my Uncle Alexander are not on better terms than they were she wrote to my sister Mary to request you would be so good as to let her have some money – I told my sister to get what Money she wanted out of some Money of mine from John and send it to her at the same time to make my Grandmother promise that she would remain at River du Loup – it seems she is always saying that she intends to come to see you – and my Uncle Alexander does not wish it some of my Uncle Josephs children which are about her are the cause I believe of her present disagreement with my Uncle – my Uncle complains he is supporting my Uncle Josephs family and that my Uncle Joseph will not thank him in the least for this – My Dear Sir you cannot think how painfull these little family feuds are to me neither are in the write and neither are in wrong or to speak more correctly they are both in the wrong – but in truth a great deal must be attributed to go betweens who are repeating one thing to one and one thing to another and I am certain they would agree [torn] at a distance from each other I [torn] been [torn] that she never got a refusal of any thing she asked for – That was in his house or in his reach but again she would go without it sooner than let him know her wants – and complain that she was neglected This being unintentional on his part frets him – they seem at time to be at cross purposes when I come down from York I will be able to go to see you and believe me my Dear Sir

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[46] Cuthbert Grant (1796-1854), a half-breed son of the fur trader Cuthbert Grant, was, in 1816, one of the leaders of the Boisbrulés in the battle at Seven Oaks. He was arrested by Lord Selkirk but, as soon as he was admitted to bail, escaped from the Montreal prison in 1818. During the early 1820s he was briefly employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1828 he was given, by the Honorable Company, the nominal post of "Warden of the Plains." That he retained, until 1848. It was his duty to prevent illicit trade in furs. As leader of the Métis, at White Horse Plains in Manitoba, he was the host of "General" James Dickson in the winter of 1836-37.

[47] Owen Keveny, a Hudson's Bay Company official, was murdered by Charles Reinhart, an employee of the North West Company, during the struggle between the fur companies over the hegemony of the Canadian hinterland. George Bryce, *The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company* (3rd ed., New York, [1910]), 255.

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[48] John Malcolm Fraser, son of Dr. Simon Fraser, served as financial agent for Dr. John McLoughlin at Montreal.

[49] The Halifax currency represented a unit of account; no coinage as such ever existed. The coins in circulation came from all over the world. The use of Halifax currency merely meant that the various coins had legal tender power at the designated value.

Your Affectionate Nephew JOHN McLOUGHLIN

N.B. Between you and me I have an offer to enter into Business in the civilized world – if I do not accept the proposal – it will be from want of capital. This is between us – no one else must know it.

I am Dear Sir Yours J. McLOUGHLIN

DR. SIMON FRASER Terre Bonne

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29. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

ST. JOHNS Novr 1821 [1820]

MY DEAR SIR I am this far on my way to Europe I intend to Embark for England on the 10th Instant I have received no letters from my Uncle Alexr since I left you I wrote him the offer you desired me to make him – it is useless to speak or write him – we cannot get an answer from him. My own affairs engage my attention too much for me to go down to River du Loup or else I would though when I left my Uncle Alexander he gave me no invitation to his house though he knew it was very probable I would not go to the Indian country this Year – it arose I presume from a disagreement we had the Evening previous to my departure. I have remitted Money to my mother with strict injunctions to have nothing to do with my Uncle – as it is the only way I know of preventing their quarrels Young Alexander has not written me. I cannot imagine the cause of his silence. I have settled with Mr Henry McKenzie for my son he is to pay Mr Glens a/c – and you may apply to him for any money on my a/c I did not send the Cloth as I found the people in town as Extravagant in their demands as in the country. I think you have best do as You please on that lease I inclose you a few grains of the seed of sweet clover I would thank you if you would from time to time enquire how they are coming on at River du Loup – at the same time I hope when you come to town you will have the Goodness to call at Mrs Plunkett to see how my daughter is and examine her Books, &c – Mrs. Leslie has promised me to take her in Charge for the Winter.

I am Dear Sir Your Affectionate Nephew JNO McLOUGHLIN

N B I have drawn this day on my Uncle for two hundred pounds – favour of George Moffat[50] Esquire

DR. SIMON FRASER
Terrebonne Montreal

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30. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

MONTREAL 5th May 1822

MY DEAR SIR I have been enquireing about a school and I see none in this place for the present in whom I could confide – I must for the present let things remain as they are I am informed an Excellent school is to be established here in the month of June on the same footing as the scotch parochial schools but it is uncertain whether they will take borders or not – I will see henry McKenzie and find out from him I suppose I will see him in about an hour it is now five in the morning and believe since my arrival from Terre Bonne I have been constantly on the go except since ten last night – I hope that you will [be] convinced of the great obligation I consider myself under to you for the great kindness you have shown My Boy [John].

I Am My Dear Sir Your Affectionate Nephew

JNO McLOUGHLIN

To DR. SIMON FRASER Terre Bonne

N B allow me to request a continuation of your kindness to my connections and children – should anything happen to me I hope I will leave enough to provide and Educate them You are my Executor and I know you will do them what is right should my Mother want any assistance I will thank you to afford it I will honor your draft on the receipt of it – this is a mere matter of precaution – but it is in case of unforeseen events – one way and the other she receives sixty one pounds for this Ensueing Year – She may draw on David but she has no one to Endorse her draft – Accidents – sickness &C may occur that may Cause her Expence

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[50] George Moffatt (1787-1865), a clerk of the XY and the North West Company, in 1811, established himself as a merchant in Montreal. He acquired a controlling interest in a firm which came to be known as Gerrard, Gillespie, Moffatt, and Co.

31. DR. SIMON FRASER TO THOMAS THAIN[51]

TERREBONNE 27 Decr 1822

SIR Mr John McLoughlin wrote me dated 15th May 1822 directing me to draw on you for to defray the expense of the education &c of his son who boards with Mr Walker Schoolmaster at Terrebonne. I have thought it would save trouble to draw once a year only I have in consequence defrayed the boy's expense from the 1st May to this date. I conclude that the annual expense of his maintenance will amount to about 50 £ pr Ann. I therefore request the favor of your paying the bearer Mr John McKenzie[52] fifty pounds Currency for which I will account to Mr John McLoughlin

I have the honor to be Sir Your Most Obt humble Servt

SIMON FRASER

THOMAS THAIN ESQUIRE, Lachine

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32. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

LAC LA P[LUIE] 2nd Jany 1823

MY DEAR SIR I dare say you will be surprised at hearing from me at this season of the Year – I can assure you I did not Expect to have had an oppertunity of writeing an unexpected oppertunity offers and I must write you – though I have nothing worth writeing that will equal the expense I will put you for this

The Winter in this Quarter has been hitherto very cold but no snow at least not what used to be at this time

I feel very much obliged to you for the Kind attention you have hitherto shown my little Boy I hope he minds what you say to him – I wish you would have the Goodness to make him write me a letter next spring I mean this spring – I would wish you would let me know how they are all going on at River du Loup – I received a long letter from David last fall he was ill with an ulcerated sore throat – he has been troubled with sore throat since a Boy this is the first time I have had in power to wish you the Compliments of the Season may you enjoy many happy returns of the same in this world and the blessings [of] the World to come for believe me to be

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[51] Thomas Thain (d. 1832), a partner in the firm of McTavish, McGillivrays, and Co., since 1821 – when the house became the Montreal agent of the Hudson's Bay Company – was the virtual manager of the Montreal office and head of the Montreal department.

[52] Probably James McKenzie (d. 1849), a younger brother of Roderick McKenzie, who entered the service of the North West Company as a clerk in 1794. In 1806 he was appointed to the King's Posts in the Lower St. Lawrence. He seems to have retired from the management of the trading and fishing posts on the north bank of the river prior to the union of 1821.

Your Affectionate Nephew JNO McLOUGHLIN
To DOCTR SIMON FRASER Terre Bonne

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33. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

LAC LAPLUIE 14th Sept 1823

MY DEAR SIR I am surprised to learn by Yours of the 27th April that you received no letter from me last fall I certainly wrote you, but sometimes letters will miscarry I find that some letters from my friends have not reached me. You are perfectly at liberty to adopt the plan you chuse in the mode of settling for my Sons Education and I feel certainly under obligation to you for the trouble you have taken – I have received a long letter from Mrs. Langan and in it she says you have sued my Uncle Alexander for the Money he owes you. I am extremely sorry that it is come to that. I Know very well that you wrote to him to fix a time when it would be convenient to him to settle and that you received no answer which certainly in Business you were Entitled to – every thing in this country of course is quiet but the Americans are pushing their posts along our line – Mrs. Morrisons son William [53] has outposts for the Americans along our line of communication between this and Fort William and a few days ago a Major being of the Engineers of the United States Army passed here – having come from Prairie du Chien across the Country to Red River on an Exploring party – it is said they came to ascertain the

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[53] William Morrison (1785-1866), born in Montreal as son of Alan Morrison and Josepha, the daughter of Jean Etienne Wadin. After years of service with the XY Company and the North West Company, he entered the employ of the South West Company in 1816, and was in charge of the Fond du Lac department at the western end of Lake Superior. His mother's father, Jean Etienne Wadin, was one of the partners in the original sixteen-share North West Company in 1779. Wadin had married Marie-Joseph Deguire at St. Laurent, near Montreal, in 1761. In the trapping country he lived with a Cree woman and became the father of Marguerite Wadin McKay McLoughlin, Dr. John McLoughlin's wife.

49 Parallel of north Latitude [54] They passed here on their return to the States It is to acquire a Knowledge of the country that these Exploring parties are sent, so as to be ready in case of war. how unfortunate Young Alexander is to be attacked with the Palsy [paralysis] at his time of life I am happy that he and his father are reconciled My Sister Mary write me that my Uncle Alexr is going to settle at Lake Temiscouata [55] he wants to Encourage a settlement there – Mr. Colin Robertson [56] Your old acquaintance desires to be Kindly remembered to you I was a few days ago at his post he was well.

I am my Dear Sir Your Affectionate Nephew JNO McLOUGHLIN

NB would you be so good as to send me some of the Vaccine matter – the small pox is approaching this quarter and I would wish to vaccinate the natives of this quarter.

SIMON FRASER Terre Bonne

34. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

FORT GEORGE [57] 15 March 1825

MY DEAR UNCLE I wrote you last year on my way to this place and which letter I presume you have received – I do not know what to say in regard to my son and certainly would feel a good deal of Anxiety on this Head was it not that I hope as you have been so good as to take him under your Charge to this time you will have the goodness to continue your cares till I go down which I think will be in three Years after this, when I hope to have the pleasure of returning you my thanks for this and the Many other obligations I and my family are indebted to you. But forbear useing expressions of feelings too often only said from the lips only, and reserve it to any time it might occur – and shew whether I am grateful or not – I cannot say that I admire much this Country. the Climate is very mild but moist and cloudy to a degree indeed since my Arrival on the 8th Novr we have not seen one clear sun Shineing day and not ten days without rain as you ascend this River the Climate becomes Colder till you reach the tops of the Rocky Mountains whose summit is covered with perpetual Ice and Snow – the soil is in general very poor and Rocky the wood however in these places where there is any soil is much larger than any I have seen on the other side I saw an Epeneth Blanc[58] of about six fathoms in circumference but to return to my family affairs my son I do not know what is best to be done with him But you will do as you think proper I am certain you can do what is best on that Head better than I can point out. if you think he ought to be removed to a better school than terre Bonne I would thank you to do it in fact I will be obliged to you to use your Will and pleasure on this point as to my daughter[59] she is I presume with my sister my object is not to give her a splendid Education but a good one – at least a good Education for a Girl – Mr. Thain will pay what you think proper to order or direct it is a source of Anxiety to me to be Obliged to give you so much trouble. how are Mr and Mrs. McKenzie will you be so good as [to] remember me to them and Believe me to be

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[54] The Convention of 1818, the treaty between Great Britain and the United States, placed the boundary line between the United States and its northern neighbor westward from the Lake of the Woods to the crest of the Rocky Mountains, on the 49° parallel.

[55] Alexander Fraser, Dr. John McLoughlin's uncle, once owned the county of Temiscouata on the south bank of the St. Lawrence, with the lake of the same name. Portions of the land were sold to provide a dowry for two of his daughters. The seigniory of Rivière-du-Loup was part of it. This land is still in the possession of Alexander's descendants.

[56] Colin Robertson (1779-1842), dismissed from the employ of the North West Company in 1809, entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1821, as Chief Factor, he was placed in charge at Norway House, the important distributing center near the northern end of Lake Winnipeg.

[57] Astoria, a fort built by John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company on the southern bank of the Columbia, twelve miles from river mouth, was named Fort George after its purchase by the North West Company in 1813.

My Dear Uncle Your Affectionate Nephew JNO McLOUGHLIN
To DR SIMON FRASER Terre Bonne

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35. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

FORT GEORGE 15th March 1825

MY DEAR SIR On leaving Montreal Mr Thain promised me he would pay the sums necessary for the Education of my Son and daughter last year he did not write me nor do I know how we stand I beg in case he would not do as I expect and that he does not advance the Money that you will be so good as draw the inclosed draft and apply it to the Education and support of my two children it is necessary in drawing that I should fix a certain sum and I have fixed on the Inclosed amount as in my opinion sufficient But as I will see my Accounts this Year – if I find that this allowance is too small I will send you a Bill for a larger Amount next

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[58] Epinette, French, spruce; obviously the reference is to a white spruce.

[59] Eliza McLoughlin received her education in the convent of the Ursulines at Quebec, under the tutelage of Sister St. Henry, Dr. John McLoughlin's sister.

Spring from which you will be able to draw any additions you may have made to this Amount with Interest If you would write to my sister and inform her of this you would oblige me much – really from his silence I am in great Anxiety about this I am conscious I am giving you a great deal of trouble but I am so situated that it is impossible for me to attend to my little family concerns – And as I flatter myself none would or could do it better I have taken the liberty to trouble you – of course if Thain should continue to advance or pay for their support You will continue to allow him to do so my only object in sending this Bill is that they should not want – If anything which I can do is any way of use to you depend on me you have only to command

I am Dear Sir Yours truly Jno McLoughlin
To Dr Simon Fraser Terre Bonne

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36. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

Fort Vancouver 17th March 1826

My Dear Cousin I have observed your note at the end of my Uncle's letter and see you write a very good hand for a Boy and that if you chuse you will write very well. Now mind what I say take pains and learn and every one will be fond of you but if you do not mind your book and take pains to learn no one will care for you nor will look at you so you see it will be your fault if people are not fond of you. I expect a very long letter from you and that I will be able to shew to every one and tell them this is my cousin John's letter, he is only seven years of age, see what a fine hand he writes and

I am Dear John Your affectionate cousin John McLoughlin
Master John Fraser
Care of Dr. Fraser
Terrebonne Montreal

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37. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

Fort Vancouver[60] 19th March 1826

My Dear Sir I see by your letter of April 1825 you had received no letter from me in 1824, it has miscarried as that year in the fall coming here I wrote you from Norway house – I am certainly under great obligations to you for your kindness in the care you have had of My Son and the many kindnesses I have had from you – I do not know what to do with my Son – what do you think he is fit for – I will be obliged to you for your Opinion and as I said in my letter of last Year I must request you to continue your attentions untill I am able to go down and take charge of him myself I received a letter from him informing me he was at Mr Essoms school My Daughter I Intend to leave at the Nunnery till I go down – I received from my Brother a Copy of his correspondence with the Duke of York [61] and Sir James McGrigor [62] as probably Mary has not seen it after perusal I would thank you to forward it to her – Mr Halket [63] a member of the Hudsons Bay Committee writes me he saw him in Paris and that he has much practice he (David) writes me that he is well pleased with his Business and it must afford him prospect of a living or else he would not have refused to join and would have waved his Recommendations however you will form your own opinion of the Correspondence for my part I think that David is in the right as it seems with great reluctance that his Royal Highness comes to the point about what David writes of Sir James McGrigor saying he was only unfortunate in not having private Interest That private Interest has its sway is beyond Doubt and a Gentleman told me that Sir James McGrigor had a pique against my Brother but would not (or perhaps did not know) tell me from whence this originated this Gentlemans name is Greville [64] he is a man of independent means and high connections – he and his family have the Greatest regard for my Brother and first arose from his wife having a difficult Labour and their was a consultation of medical men when he was called in the others were for destroying the child he was against it and conceived the child could be extracted without injury to Mother or child – Lady Lake (the wife of Lord Lake) mother of Mrs Greville was so pleased as well she might be that she fell on her knees at his feet – begging a Blessing of God on him this first brought him into notice in Boulougne and this family looked on David as one to whom they owed the Greatest obligations – and seemed most anxious to show by their polite attention to me their regard for him Mr Greville is Brother in Law to Lord Combermere[65] who distinguished himself in Spain as Commander of the Cavalry under Lord Wellington – I merely state this to show that he has made himself friends – and it was only by accident I heard the story about the difficult Labour – old lady Lake one Evening was quizzing my Brother about Getting Married and that he would put it off so long no Lady would have him – well said David I have seen a Lady on her knees at my feet before now and sometime after this on observing to him he was very Intimate with that family he told me how it originated and what he alluded to when he said he had the honor of seeing a Lady on her knees before him – Another correspondent of mine of the name of Daly writes in the same way as Mr. Halket and adds that his practice is as Extensive amongst the French as the English

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[60] Fort Vancouver, a Hudson's Bay Company post on the right bank of the Columbia, six miles above its junction with the Willamette River, was established under the direction of Governor George Simpson and Chief Factor John McLoughlin.

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[61] Frederick Augustus, Duke of York and Albany (1763-1827), the second son of George III.

[62] Sir James McGrigor (1771-1858), first Baronet of Camden Hill, director general of the medical department of the British army, physician extraordinary to the king, and fellow of the colleges of physicians of London and Edinburgh.

[63] John Halkett (d. 1852), was a member of the Hudson's Bay Committee in London from 1811 to 1824, and again from 1829 to 1848.

[64] Algernon Greville (1791-1857), in December 1813, married Caroline, the second daughter of Lord and Lady Lake.

Last year I requested a friend of mine to remit you a hundred pounds on my account which I suppose has been done – I wrote you then how I wished you to apply it I have in mind to go down in five Years – but that is merely for your information

I am Dear Sir Your Affectionate Nephew JOHN McLOUGHLIN
To DR. SIMON FRASER

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38. SISTER ST. HENRY TO DR. SIMON FRASER

(Translated from the French original)

URSULINES QUEBEC May 18, 1826

DOCTOR SIMON FRASER
Terrebonne

MY DEAR UNCLE I have received your kind favor of the 25th. of February, I am very grateful for the trust which you have the kindness to place in me. I have received in March £ 25 from you, the person who has brought me this sum did not want a receipt, I would have been honored to acknowledge the receipt of this sum and of your letter but I had been bedridden, with an inflamation of the chest and subsequently delayed business matters did not permit me prove my gratitude to you without however removing from my memory what I owed you, I am ashamed of the anxiety which I have occasioned to you. I am displeased by the failure of Mr. McKinzie,[66] I would even be more displeased if you would loose the kind advances made for the children of my brother, are you of the opinion that the bankruptcy of M. Thain,[67] will hurt my brother's business? The last news from my brother is like yours from the month of March, he was not worried for his boy, he knew your fondness for him, but the little girl worries him he wishes that she stay here until his return. The remarks made by you are only too true and I am sorry for her, the darling. My brother recommends that she should apply herself to Music. Mr. Codman finds her advanced and I often tell the little one that her music will be of some value to her as for a life of work, she is not strong.

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[65] Sir Stapleton Cotton (1773-1865), first Viscount Combermere.

[66] Henry McKenzie was a partner in the firm of McTavish, McGillivrays, and Co., the Montreal house that failed in 1825.

My Mother continues to be better and better, she wants me to assure you of her sincere affection and of her best wishes. Your nieces present to you their respectful gratitude and beg of you to give to our small cousin John all our affection and with my nephew I am proud of their note and thank you for your kindness Eliza expects to write her brother, she often speaks of her small cousin and of the kindnesses of her Uncle for her brother as well as for herself. I have the honor to be and with profound respect

My dear Uncle: your obedient and affectionate Niece

S. Henry

To the Ursulines Sisters

For one year of board of Miss E. McLoughlin beginning the 16th of May 1825 expired the 15th of May of the Year 1826 and of music	£ 44 – "
Maintenance and medicines	36 – " –
	£ 80 – "
Received in the month of March from Doctor Simon Fraser	25 – "
	£ 55

Eliza asks me to tell her Uncle that she benefits greatly and that her wardrobe often needs replenishing

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[67] Shortly before McTavish, McGillivrays, and Co. and McGillivrays, Thain, and Co. were forced into insolvency, in 1825, Thomas Thain suddenly departed from Canada, in ill health, leaving the accounts of these firms in great confusion. Soon afterwards he was reported as being "confined as a lunatic in an asylum in Scotland."

39. DR. SIMON FRASER[68]
TO GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON[69]

TERREBONNE 16th Nov. 1826

SIR: I have been informed that you would advance the money necessary to defray the expenses of the education of Dr. McLoughlin's children.

I therefore request the favor of your informing me whether you would do so. In that case I will direct Mother St. Henri, Ursuline Monastery, Quebec (Dr. McLoughlin's sister) to draw on you for what may be due the nuns for board etc, on account [of the daughter] of Dr. McLoughlin, who is with her aunt at Quebec. I will also draw on you for the money I have advanced on account of Dr. McLoughlin's son who is with me in Terrebonne. I hope you will excuse the [torn] I take in troubling you and believe me to be

Sir Your most obt humble servt. SIMON FRASER

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40. GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON TO DR. SIMON FRASER

LACHINE 17th Novem 1826

SIR I was this morning favored with your esteemed communication by the hand of Mr McKenzie and in reply thereto will have much satisfaction in discharging any claims or demand on my Friend Dr M Loughlin. I had the pleasure of seeing his sister and Daughter while at Quebec and was happy to find that the Young Lady had made great progress in the different branches of Education to which her attention has been directed; she is extremely fortunate in having been placed under the care and protection of a lady so well qualified to store and improve her young mind. I trust the Boy [John McLoughlin] under your charge likewise promises well, the Dr is much attached to them both and the most agreeable intelligence I can convey to him next Season will be that of their Welfare. If either You or La Mere Ste Henri Ursuline will do us the favour to draw on me or intimate how or to whom it is your wish the monies should be paid it will meet with immediate attention. Last Summer I forwarded a Letter to your address from the Dr enclosing a Dft of £ 100 in your favor, it had not made its appearance up to the time of my departure from London in Spring which leads me to suppose that it either did not get to hand or was not made use of by you.

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[68] See illustration, Plate 4 (page 262).

[69] Sir George Simpson (1792-1860), entering the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1820, brought about the golden age of the Honorable Company. He was entrusted with the full control of the reorganized Hudson's Bay Company affairs in the New World. Traveling and exploring in a vast unopened country became part of his ordinary life. As administrator he chiefly resided at Lachine, on Lake Saint Louis, eight miles southwest of Montreal, and showed remarkable tact in abating personal jealousies, reconciling conflicting interests, and exercising a firm and efficient control. Governor in Chief in 1826, knighted in 1841, a host to the Prince of Wales a few days before his death, Simpson "probably combined the widest range of authority with the widest range of territory and the longest tenure of power ever enjoyed by one man in North America."

With Esteem I remain Your mo; obedt & humb. Ser,

GEO SIMPSON

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41. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. DAVID McLOUGHLIN

FORT VANCOUVER, 20th March 1827

MY DEAR DAVIE I beg to Introduce to you a Mr Ermatinger a nephew of Mr Ermatinger of Montreal [70]

I am My Dear Davie Your affectionate Brother

JOHN McLOUGHLIN

DR DAVID McLOUGHLIN, M.D.
No 8 Rue de la Paix, Paris

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42. DR. SIMON FRASER TO DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN

TERREBONNE 20 Apl 1827

MY DEAR NEPHEW Soon after writing you the 24 Apl 1826 I was informed that your draft had been honored, and at the same time that Messrs McKenzie Bethune [71] & Co to whom I had given it had failed. I had a little before requested Mr. McKenzie pay to Mr. Esom £25.15.10 Curr[enc]y which was paid prior to his failing, which is all I have as yet been able to recover of that draft, but expect to get a dividend along with their other Creditors, but God only knows when that will be. I have this winter recd an hundred pounds from Governor Simpson on your account, and have now in my hands about fifteen pounds remaining of that money. there was a small balance due me when John went to Montreal, besides £5–14–1½ due to Mr John McKenzie for sundries you had got from him yourself for John & which you had neglected paying when you went up. Mr. Esom also brought an additional amount last winter of £8:4. for necessaries. I have kept a regular account for your inspection, the money I have in my hands I expect will defray your son's expenses till next fall at which time he will have acquired a sufficient Knowledge of Arithmetic and Book Keeping to fit him for an other school his present master Mr Neagle cannot teach him any thing else. I make him in the meantime read French regularly with my son Mr Neagle tho he has been appointed French Schoolmaster for Terrebonne does not understand it so well as your son or mine. I cannot complain of your son tho he is not so much advanced in his education as I expected when I wrote you last Spring the truth is I was too sanguine. the development of the human mind requires time your son is now come to that period when his mind must expand, as I before told you I will do for the best that is to say deal with your son as with my own. I thought and do still think the best thing that can be done for the young man is to make him an Indian Trader, but Governor Simpson tells me the Company have determined to take none of these Young Men into their service (for reasons which he explained to me & which you must know) I do not think he would succeed as a Physician, he would have to go thro a long course of studies these boys are remarkable for want of steadiness and application, tho by no means deficient in understanding the next thing to being an Indian Trader I would advise you purchasing an Ensigncy for him. I think he would made a good soldier he is bold and quick in his motions a Commission would cost 400£ to make him a Merchant would cost you much more and I think he would not have an equal chance of success. Governor Simpson has promised to assist me in looking out for a place for him in Montreal which cannot be before next Spring, this would not prevent you purchasing a Commission for him for we cannot and will not bind him, whilst writing in Counting House he will attend some evening school (It is not easy to get a place Mr Hallowell has not yet been able to get a place for his son William nor has Mr Webster got a place for his——) I cannot have the advantage of an answer from you prior to putting the boy in a Company Counting house but this will not prevent me from getting him to the North if possible or purchasing a Commission for him. I do not know his age. I wrote last Spring to your sister and sent her 25 £ which I thought sufficient to defray the expense of your daughter at the Nunnery for a Year, but your sister really astonished me by sending me an account of 80 £ for a year. I wrote her that I thought it highly exorbitant, I have since referred her to Mr Simpson, and refused to sanction the system she follows the Girl cannot be a nun on account of her birth & her education is above the sphere that Society seems to have prescribed for her it is calculated to make her miserable she is by all reports a fine Girl, I think she ought to be sent to your Mother—I am Dear Nephew Your Affectionate SIMON FRASER

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[70] The Ermatinger family of Montreal goes back to the Swiss merchant Lawrence Ermatinger (d. 1789) who appears to have made his way from London to Canada in the early days of British rule. One of his sons, Frederick William Ermatinger (d. 1816) was appointed sheriff and postmaster of Montreal in 1810. Children of his oldest son – Lawrence Edward, Edward Ermatinger (1797-1876) and Francis (1798-1858) – were employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. Charles Oakes Ermatinger, another son of Lawrence and his wife Jemima Oakes, became an Indian trader and lived for many years at Sault St. Marie.

[71] Henry McKenzie, partner in the firm of McTavish, McGillivrays, and Co., in 1815, married Anne, the sister of fur trader Angus Bethune (1783-1858), a relative of Dr. John McLoughlin's second wife. The failure of McTavish, McGillivrays, and Co., in 1825, involved Henry McKenzie.

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43. JOHN FRASER TO DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN[72]

[April 20, 1827]

DEAR COUSIN: You have been so kind as to give me an advice. I have done my best to follow it your son writes you I will let him speak for himself you will excuse me for writing so short I expect next year I will write a longer letter than this one [the last three words are scratched out but readable].

I remain I remain Your affectionate Cousin JOHN FRASER
I remain Your affectionate Cousin JOHN FRASER.[73]

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44. DR. SIMON FRASER TO GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON

MONTREAL 16 Octr 1827

GEORGE SIMPSON Esquire

DEAR SIR My nephew Mr. John McLoughlin writes me from Fort Vancouver 20 March 1827 that he would write you to cause to be paid the sum of one hundred pounds per annum [crossed out "and fifty pounds per annum for the use of his mothers children and for his mother"] for the use of his ["mother" crossed out] daughter and for his mother, and fifty pounds for his son. I have informed Madm St. Henri of these circumstances she would wish to have a draft on London for the hundred pounds. I promised to mention it to you if this suits your convenience I will be much obliged to you to inform me of it or write to Madm St Henri herself. I have written to Mr John Malcolm Fraser my brother requesting that he would take the young man Master McLoughlin under his protection it is easier for him to superintend his education in Quebec than for [inserted "me in Montreal"] I can do in Montreal. I have not yet recd an answer. If Mr J. M. Fraser takes charge of the young man he will of course receive the money that is intended for his use. Excuse these long details and allow me to congratulate you on your safe arrival.

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[72] The following note was written at the end of the letter of Dr. Simon Fraser to Dr. John McLoughlin, dated Terrebonne, April 20, 1827.

[73] Young Fraser evidently practised the writing of the complimentary close.

I am Dear Sir Your most obt and Humble Sert. SIMON FRASER

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45. GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON TO DR. SIMON FRASER[74]

LA CHINE 17th Oct. 1827

DEAR SIR: I am favored wh [with] your communication of yesterday's Date and had I been aware of your being in Town would before now have had the pleasure of calling on you.

My Friend Dr. McLoughlin has authorized me to hand you a Dft. for £ 150 Sterling without stating the object for which it is intended I have therefore to request the favor of your following his instructions in that respect and now transmit you his Dft. on the Govn & committee for the amt.– The present Exchange on 30 Day Bills is about 9½ pc. premium which Dr. McLoughlin ought to command, but if you find any difficulty in negotiating it I shall wh. [with] pleasure guarantee the payment or Indorse the Dft.– Any arrangement you may make respecting Master McLoughlin [John Jr.] I feel assured his Father will be satisfied wh—.

I am with Esteem Yours etc. GEO. SIMPSON

DR. FRAZER
of Terrebonne, Montreal.

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46. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

FORT VANCOUVER 4th March 1828

MY DEAR COUSIN I have before me your note attached to my Uncles Letter I see you have improved in your writing – take pains my Dear Cousin and you will learn your improvement now depends on your own Exertions and unless you exert yourself you will not learn but if you do Exert yourself you must and will Learn. You are now of that age that if you do not make the progress you ought people will lay it to your fault – recollect the more a person knows the better he is able to make his way through the World and if his conduct is worthy and proper the more he is respected consider their are only two characters given to young people by the World – a Bad or a Good one – as to the first they will say this young man takes no pains to learn – he is lazy, careless, keeps Company with Idlers like himself and thinks of nothing but play – the second he is a fine steady boy always studying most Anxious to learn when he finds anything he does not understand he does not pass it over but sifts it completely till he Understands it and if he cannot find it out takes the first Opportunity of having it Explained he never is behind in his task and is always the first in his Class and from his Good temper and obliging disposition loved by his school mates and by every one who know him – now my Dear Cousin it depends on yourself to deserve this Character – consider if you do know much your friends will be pleased.

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[74] See illustration, Plate 5 (page 263).

I am my Dear John Your affectionate Cousin

John McLoughlin

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47. GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON TO DR. SIMON FRASER

[Lachine, March 14, 1828]

My Dear Sir On my return from Glengerry[75] two Days ago I found the enclosed letter from Mr Jones the Schoolmaster and this morning the enclosed note from Mr. Finlay reached me. In the afternoon I went down to the Schoolhouse in order to inquire into the nature of these complaints and learnt that in addition to the offence of absenting himself from the House for a couple of hours on Sunday Evening after dark without accounting for his absence in a satisfactory manner the night being wet and dark John McLoughlin had beaten a much younger Boy unmercifully and when the Father Dr. Newcombe lodged a formal complaint against him he flew into a violent passion, made use of highly improper Language and providing himself with a bludgeon threatened the Drs life. After Mr Jones gave me this information I called the Boys into the Schoolhouse and in presence of Jones and Young Rowand spoke to MLoughlin on the impropriety of his conduct, but instead of showing the least contrition, he burst out into the most violent gust of rage I ever witnessed, became quite frantic with passion, used the most provoking and unrespectful language to the Schoolmaster and clenching his fist threatened revenge! indeed if I had not been present I think Young as he is he would have attempted some very serious outrage; he began forthwith to collect his Books and with an

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[75] Glengarry, a county in Ontario, between the Ottawa and St. Lawrence rivers, first settled in 1784 by Scottish Loyalists belonging to the Royal Highland Emigrant or the Royal Regiment of New York.

Oath declared he would not remain another night in the House. The poor Schoolmaster was quite horrer struck and alarmed, begged me to take him with me and said he would not poor as was keep him another Week for £ 500. I accordingly removed him immediately and endeavoured to make him sensible of the impropriety of his conduct but he continues sullen and Moody, perhaps you may have more influence with him. Up to the time the first complaint was lodged against him I had a very high opinion of the Young Man; his manners and address were pleasing, his temper appeared even and mild, his disposition good and of promising abilities; indeed I had taken quite a fancy to the Lad and meant now that the Days are lengthening to have given him a Seat in our Counting House occasionally preparatory to recommending him as an apprentice Clerk to the Coy. but I have never been so grossly deceived in a Young Man, and regret it exceedingly on account of his Father for whom I have a very great regard. Previous to this affair I frequently enquired into his treatment at Mr Jone's and his reports were uniformly satisfactory indeed I am satisfied that Mr Jones was very kind and attentive not only as regarded his personal comforts but in reference to his studies and mental improvement and I think in examination you will find that a good use has been made of the few months he has been here.

I am quite at a loss what to recommend in advice respecting this Youth but trust you will keep a paternal eye upon him as heretofore. There is a value of £ 68.–.9 in my hands which I shall remit to you or apply as you may direct and

With Esteem I remain My Dear Sir Your Mo: obede St

GEO SIMPSON

DR FRAZER Terrebonne

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48. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

MONTREAL 2 July 1828

DEAR UNCLE, I would have written to you before this time, but I was not able to go to town I am learning Book Keeping and the French grammar I have not written in Governor Simpsons office for their hurry was not over, I begun the Arithmetic from barter till as far as the end of cube root I have no summer clothes here I have asked Mr Simpson before he went off for a Jacket and he has given me it I have no hat for Sundays except a little cap that Mr K has give me. I remain Dear Uncle Your affectionate Nephew JOHN McLOUGHLIN

49. DR. SIMON FRASER TO JOHN McLOUGHLIN[76]

[July 1828]

Dear John: I have rec'd yours of the 2n Just three days ago. I did not know that you had left your summer clothes at my house, I send them along with this letter to Pigeon in Montreal and request they may be sent you by the first safe conveyance. You have felt the inconvenience of leaving part of your baggage, this will make you more careful in [the] future. You must inform Mr. Jones when your clothes etc either require repairs or being renewed he (Mr. Jones) will apply to Mr. Keith[77] for you. I need not reiterate my injunctions [for you] to apply to your studies with the greatest possible assiduity this besides the strictest propriety of behavior on all occasions even of the smallest consequence, is the only means you have to advance your future welfare. You will offer my best compliments to Mr. Keith you will consult him on all occasions that is to say whenever you stand in need of advise he is your father's friend and consequently yours for you have no friend at Lachine besides Mr. Keith and Mr. Jones. You may expect to hear from your father in a month or two.

Your friend[78] Simon Fraser.

p.s. You may show this letter to Mr. Keith and to Mr. Jones, I will go to Lachine to consult with Mr. Keith about your conduct as soon as I hear from your father.

p.s. Your trunk is too large for you to carry to Lachine. I have requested Mr. Pigeon to send it to you if he cannot get a safe conveyance you probably can get it carried in Mr. Keith's carts. You will in the meantime take the things you stand most in need of in a handkerchief.

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50. SISTER ST. HENRY TO DR. SIMON FRASER

(Translated from the French original)

Ursulines, Quebec February 29,[79] 1829

My dear Uncle: I have received your favor through my nephew your student who arrived yesterday, he is at Mr. Forsyth, his sister presumably will return from the country today or tomorrow, she has been with Judge Taschereau [80] for the last five weeks.

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[76] Dr. Simon Fraser's reply to John McLoughlin is preserved as draft on the back of young McLoughlin's letter of July 2, 1828.

[77] James Keith (d. 1851), a brother-in-law of Sir George Simpson, became a partner in the North West Company in 1814. From 1813 to 1816 he was on the Columbia. In 1821 he was made a Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company. From 1826 to 1843 he superintended the Montreal department, with headquarters at Lachine.

[78] As originally drafted the complimentary phrase read, "I am Dear John your sincere friend Simon Fraser." The closing was altered to "Your friend."

[79] Obviously an error; in 1829 the month of February had twenty-eight days.

I notice with satisfaction that my nephew is imbued with the paternal care which he has received from you, he loves to say, my dear uncle, has always treated me as his son, and I myself love him as my father, I hope that he will not forget your lessons and that he will make proof of his gratitude. By his behavior, the simple and innocent manners of that child please me very much, it is too bad that you have not sent your son to make a trip to Quebec, I would love to know him before that he becomes a man and that I become old, furthermore he would find here six cousins, there are none who are beautiful but they are estimable.

There are several good vessels for London. The Sovereign has not yet arrived. J. M. Fraser or W. H. Forsyth would be able to find passage for him if you would so decide.

I had hoped that my brother John would return this year, I am informed by the Governor Sympson that it will only be within two years. The health of his daughter is delicate, this obliges me to allow her to take walks it seems that her health gains by it as well as her manners, everything in her is noble and agreeable. It will be a great pleasure for my mother to see the little Jean, she is aging much, and only her feelings for you are always the same my dear uncle, she speaks of you with the most tender feelings without daring to hope to see you again.

My sisters and their children beg of you to receive the assurance of their respects and I am also

Very sincerely, Your Obedient Niece S. S. HENRY
DR. S. FRASER Terrebonne

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51. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

QUEBEC 25th Oct 1829

DEAR UNCLE I write you these few lines to inform you that I am to sail the 26th of this month in Lady Clerk when I arrived in Quebec I immediately inquired for Mr McKenzie but nobody could not tell where he liv'd I was brought to Mr. Forseyth by one of my cousins and he had Goodness of introducing me to him. I have not went down to Rivier du Loup Give My Respects to John and all the others I really would have written a longer letter but I was in hurry in embarking

Excuse all the faults you will find. I am Dear Uncle Your Sincerely Nephew JOHN McLOUGHLIN

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[80] Jean Thomas Taschereau (1778-1832), judge of the court of King's Bench at Quebec from 1827 to 1832.

52. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN McLOUGHLIN

Fort Vancouver 1st February 1830

My Dear Boy, I have to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 27th last April and am surpris'd after the refusal I gave your Request to come and join me you should again make it. You ought to know that if I conceived it to your advantage I would have acced'd to your wish and I have written my friends to consider what Business you are qualifi'd for and to place you accordingly. But of this they will judge as I am afraid you are not yet sufficiently advanced in your education – and if they leave you at school I Desire you will particularly apply yourself to study the English and French Grammar so as to be able to write in both languages correctly. I am happy to see the great improvement in your hand writing since the date of your preceding though I must say (as you are now of age when the truth should be told you, to enable you to judge correctly) that your hand writing is not such as it ought to be considering your age and the time you have been at school (it is very inferior to your sisters writing) which is certainly owing to yourself and shews you did not apply as much as you ought. Recollect that any Man can Accustom himself to write a good hand and that while learning you are working for yourself and at the very best and most profitable kind of em[ployment] you can have and that a school master may be as able and exert himself as much as possible still his scholars will only improve in proportion to their own exertions and their own Real Anxious Desire to Learn. Men form their opinion of young people (And it is correct) from the zeal with which they see them Apply to their Studies and the progress they make and there never was yet a person of a Good Disposition who did not give proofs of it (when he had an opportunity) by his application to his Studies. you are now a Man and ought to be able to perceive what I state is correct and if you feel that pride and ambition (which I hope you have) to Rise in the world, you must see that the only way you can succeed is by Applying yourself Most diligently to your Education. You must employ every Moment that you have to spare from your meals and sleep to improve yourself and take pains to do *with all care imaginable As well as you possible can.* Education May be said to consist of two parts – to improve the mind and acquire Manners to regulate our Intercourse with others but you must see that in proportion as you improve your Mind you will acquire manners if you apply to your Studies you will become Modest, Respectful, Sensible, anxious to give satisfaction to those with whom you have Intercourse and see the necessity, the absolute necessity, every Man is under, of acquiring the Good Will of others. On the other hand, if you are an Idler you will be stubborn, conceited, assuming and self willed – be you cautious then of never being Idle. As Idleness is the root of all Evil, and Bear in mind that as the Labour of the Mind is superior to that of the Body by so much is a well informed Man superior to an Ignorant Laborer. At the same time that application to our Studies increases our knowledge it improves our hearts and elevates our Mind to the Great Author of our Being – points our Duty to him – and makes us preserve the Advantage to ourselves in discharging them with cheerfulness and pleasure. Be you therefore most attentive Morning and Evening to address your prayers to the Almighty Father of all to Return him thanks for the Great Benefits that you have received at his hands and to implore him to Grant you the Grace so to Regulate your conduct as to deserve a continuance of the same and if you punctually do this you may depend you will succeed in the World and be a Credit to yourself and to your friends. I expect you to pay particular attention to every thing my uncle Desires you as also your school master as a complaint from them would Expose you to my Displeasure. It is impossible to send you shoes from this as the people who go from this with Letters can only take them and their provisions across the mountains. May God Bless you. [John McLoughlin]

53. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

[Paris] Oct 26, 1831 [81]

Dear Uncle: The reason why I did not write so frequent this year is that I was waiting for an answer to the two letters that I wrote you last year – I am afraid that none of these two letters has not reached you or else I should have had a line either from you or from John.

I am extremely sorry that John has not written to me as he promised – he was to write me as soon as he would have a moment to spare I think that moment never came. I told him to mention [in] my letter about his sister and mother. I hope when he will write he shall [not] forget to do so. Dear Uncle the other day in reading the newspapers I fond [found] that their had been a disturbance in Montreal about the College I should be very much obliged to you if you would be so kind as to let me know if this is really the truth. As soon as the french heard of this news they immediately said that Canada was in a revolt. I should say more but as I have but a few minutes to myself I cannot give you a real description of france but I shall give you it next month. I am at present preparing for an examination that will take place in the month of Jan. next. I hope to be received, if I am I shall write and soon. I hope that Mr. Mr. McKenzie [sic] is in good health as well as well as the rest of his family. My Uncle [David McLoughlin] sends his best compliments to you. You cannot think how kind he is to [me] – he does all what he can for me. I do all what [I] can depend[ing] on my ability to [be] content. I hope that in his letter that he writes to you he will say nothing that will displease you.

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[81] The letter bears the postmark, "New York Jan 1," and is addressed to "Dr. Simon Fraser Terrebonne near Montreal." It was obviously written in Paris, carried by some person to New York City, and there mailed.

I remain Dear Uncle Your affectionate Nephew

J. McLoughlin

n.b. I received a letter from my father in which he says that he did not know that I was in france until governor Simpson told him – he does not mention when he [torn]

My best respects to John and – J. McL

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54. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

Paris 18 May 1832

My dear Cousin I received your much esteemed favor of the first of December 1831. You cannot imagine how happy I was to hear from you as well as the family. Since my arrival in Paris I wrote several letters to you and to your father to thank him for his kind attention he had for me while I was under his care. I am astonished that he has not written the same time as you. I suppose he is so much occupied that he has scarcely any time to himself. I should be very much obliged to you if you would be so kind as to let me know how your father is getting on at Terrebonne. I heard from two gentlemen that came from Montreal a few months ago that Mr. Gegan son was received [as] a doctor and that he was an assistant to your father if this be the case your father should feel relieved and at present he his [is] old and he cannot bear the fatigue so much as he was [able] to do a few years ago and I approve your father for having him,– as I do not particularly know the young man so I cannot say a great deal about him as you can judge him better than I so I leave him to your judgment. Do you often see Miss Gegan if she his [is] not married would you be so kind as to remember me kindly to her and at the same time tell her (I have not quite forgotten her) but this part that I put between parenthesis must not be repeated to any person except her and you. I hope that you will keep it as a great secret. I am most happy to find that Elis [illegible] is getting on so well, I wish him all manner of success in his situation, did he marry soon after I left is it with the same young lady that lived at St Ann. But at all events remember me to both. As for [illegible] she will not get married till I return or till I send her a husband from Paris – you will tell [illegible] but if you see that she gets furious you will tell her that [what?] I said in writing – does she complain of me – you know I was to tease her very much when she lived at your fathers – that some time I was to set her crying and then your dear mama was to scold me – she was perfectly right to do so and I repent of it very much – you will thank your dear mother for her kind attentions to me and I hope that some of these day[s] I will recompense her for it.– I cannot say when but it will be before my leaving Paris – I am most pleased that your dear sister [is] in good health – you know some time after she was home, when I saw her, that I told your mamma (qu' elle aura beaucoup d' esprit et [torn] que J'ai dub deja realisi) [that she will be very clever and (torn) which I should have already realized] I was not mistaken – this is not how that you will see it, but when she gets older [illegible] her for me. I must not finish this epistle without saying a word of my friend le nom de Leander Lepage, I wish you [would] let me know how he is getting on with his studies – he has ability to learn and it should be a pity to neglect them – he will be the santient [support] of his family by his talents and Burnati ought to strive to put him in the college of Montreal and after he finishes his education to make him learn the medical profession, If I was near him I would beg of my father to take him and I dare say he would do it. Does he often speaks of me as he used to do when I was at Lachine – does he recollect me well – I am most certain that he was very lonesome a few days after I left. He could not then say to his mother if she dare to beat him that he would tell me. I am to[o] far [away] and will roam about for a long time. I'll not say a word more about him till I receive a note from you — write me evy [every] month it will please me very much – I also want to join father and give him a sketch of what has past [passed] this month in Paris. Remember me kindly to Madame Beauchamp same to Maude Coulon and [illegible] and to Mde. [illegible] and to her brother Horben and in fact [to] all those that may ask you about me. You cannot imagine how happy I am here – I spent the winter very gay. I have been to balls even [where] the Royal family was and also I had a moments conversation with the Prince [82] and I hope and wish I shall go to the castle. You must also recollect that my uncle is not married and you will tell your father so – it was a false report – I finish in wishing a good success in your situation and may God Almighty bless you.

Believe me Your Affectionate Cousin J. McLoughlin

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[82] Louis Phillipe (1830-1848), King of France.

P.S. If you see my friend Mac Murry will you ask him if he would be so kind as [to] ask John Rowand at Lachine to ask to [of] Mr. Jones the schoolmaster or Madame Holm if they would be so kind as to give me Mrs. Clerk['s] address in London I forgot to tell you that I have already made one year in study[ing] anatomy. J. McLoughlin

You will burn this letter as soon as you have read it.

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55. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

Paris June 26th, 1832

My dear Uncle, Once again I am writing you to tell you about the disturbances which took place on June 5 and 6. I will not tell you of the reasons which have created these disturbances because this would be too long in telling, and you would not have the patience to read it all. This is the way I shall begin. The ennemies of the scial order have again bloodied Paris. They have taken advantage of the funeral of General Lamarque [83] who had he lived, would have opposed such disorders. The funeral procession of the general went along peacefully in accordance with the arrangements which the funeral directors themselves had planned. The authorities, trusting in the assurances which had been given to them as to the peacefulness of the arrangements and giving heed to the request from the directors of the funeral convoy, had refrained from any display of the police, and were only looking on. The development of the conspiracy hid itself behind a casket. The events show to what point one can trust the promises of anarchists. The funeral procession had barely reached the Boulevard des Italiens, when the trouble makers have started to chase it and to subject the police authorities which marched silently in the procession, to their yelling, and insults. Soon actual fist fights forced the police officers to be on the defensive and some of them fell under the attacks of the murderers. The authorities witnessing these criminal attacks, took immediately action to prevent new criminal attempts. All their efforts were not able to prevent the route along the boulevards which had still to be followed to reach the Bastille, becoming a theater of bloody scenes. The procession having reached the place de la Bastille, speeches were made. I do not know how to write about the excesses to which the people stooped, who came with ideas of creating trouble. They started first with putting on the Red Bonnets and by crying *Long Live the Republic Down with the Middle of the Road.* A detachment of dragoons sent to disperse the crowds, which had taken on the character of a revolt, had been fired on with revolvers and guns, and created a street fight, such that cavalry charges had not been able to restablish order. All at once a mass of madmen threw themselves on the nearby police forces and disarmed them. Most of the National Guardsmen who had come only to honore the memory of the general, immediately left the ranks and hurried to place themselves under the banner of Public Order. At the first gun shot the story went around the city that the National Guard had risen against the monarchy; while people were fighting my cousin and I visited the different places where people were fighting most, we have seen people fall next to us but that has not kept us from being spectators, but we were afraid that my uncle would be worried about our safety and then decided to leave the fighter and return home where my uncle awaited us with patience and he did not want to let us go out again until the disturbance was finished. The next day people were still fighting, but as the republicans and the Carlists[84] were not in full force they were obliged to take to flight. The troops have not been willing to take any prisoners they massacred them on the spot, but seeing they were so numerous that one could not kill them all, they took the rest prisoners. As soon as that was finished the King placed Paris under martial law and in two days they have arrested more than six thousand people. Now they have not decided if they should shoot some of them to make an example of them. I am of the opinion that one should shoot them all for if one pardons them, they will begin again. Herewith my dear uncle, the details which I think will give you pleasure, especially as coming from me. I trust that everyone in your house is in good health especially the little May and her mother. I end by wishing you good health, I am your Nephew JOHN McLOUGHLIN

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[83] Maximilien Lamarque (1770-1832), hero of the Napoleonic wars, was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1828 and became an important member of the opposition. He enjoyed great popularity and was noted for his eloquence. Lamarque took an active part in the July Revolution. The presence of armed guards at his funeral incensed the republicans and led to the insurrection of June 5-6, 1832.

My uncle asks me to give you his regards as well as to Mr. & Mrs. Mc.Keyes I will write to John

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[84] John McLoughlin's diatribe on the political conditions in France seems to mirror the opinion of his uncle. John's lack of insight is revealed when he mentions insurgent French republicans and rebellious Spanish Carlists in one breath. It is hardly possible to identify the future men of 1848 with the religious orthodoxy of the Carlists and Don Carlos's firm belief in the divine rights of kings.

56. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

PARIS 24 Feb. 18, 1833

DEAR JOHN: I am really ashamed in not having written to you to tell you that I have received your kind letters but I am so busy that I could not find time to write but I hope this will not happen again.– the opportunities are very scarce. If you wish I shall send my letters by the post. I am very much obliged to you for your kind information of what I asked you, when I left I thought that there was something of the sort going on. I caught her pronouncing a name – I never took no notice of it – you cannot have happy time – I have been to the Kings Bals and have been presented to him. I am very sorry that D. Prevost is turned to be a blackguard – you say he has challenged Norbert, the poor fellow does not know what he is doing – they have never seen sword or pistol that is they never have handled them – since my domicil I have learned to fence and I am reckoned a good fencer. I have been attacked and called out by a school fellow of mine, but never took notice of him for there is no use of fighting unless there is a great offence and [the] more I was certain he could not fence as well as I did, perhaps I should have wounded him and it would [have] served him very much to have done it [torn]. Of course I shall write you in a few days. Remember me kindly to Norbert and his sister if she is not married. I am received in the first society in Paris. I am also received at Court. I hope you will not forget me to Merancer, Olie and Marguerite – bye the bye how is my young friend getting on with his studies that is Leander le Page. I hope he is still in remembrance of me. Will you do me the favor to ask Mr. Murray to ask to John Rowand at Lachine if he has received my letter and to send me the answer as soon as possible for I am going to London next year and I wish to know the address of Mrs. Clark the sister of Mr. Jones as [I want] a letter from Mr. Jones in which he tells me her address. Remember me kindly to my friends. Your cousin, JOHN McLOUGHLIN

[Endorsements on back of letter are]:
Monsieur J. Fraser of Peter M. Gill at Montreal
[Also the following]: rec'd while sitting near Mammy in the room at home, she being dead. J. FRASER

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57. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

[PARIS 24 Feb 1833]

DEAR UNCLE A friend of mine has kindly offered to forward this letter to you. Ah what can be the cause of your long silence to me? Am I the cause of it. if so tell me on what occasion, but I hope that you will be so kind as to Write a few Lines to say that you are in good health as well as the rest of your family. Alas can I ever cease regretting the loss of your love and regard no never, I imagine that you must have heard some reports on my conduct if it is so, you can write to my Uncle and ascertain whether those reports are true and you may be sure that he will tell you the truth I am anxious to know what can prevent you from writing a few lines you are perfectly aware that it will give me great pleasure to know that you are well, by a letter that I received from John he says that you complained to him that my letters did not satisfy you principally on one point that is not saying a word about my studies, if I had known that this subject could have pleased you so much I should not have forgotten to mention it I shall give you in a few words of What I have done since my last and what I am doing at present. Since my last letter I have passed the examination of Bachelier en lettres and passed it with credit As soon as I left the room every gentleman said that it was myself that had passed the best of the whole. I answered to every question put to me by the examinators I was so perfect on it that it is impossible to be rejected. Since then I am preparing two more examinations for the month of July. I hope to have the same success as the preceeding one. I am to enter in one of the hospitals in summer. I study from ten in the morning till three and then rest till six and from then I study for three hours more during that time I study chemistry anatomy Physiology Physics; but I devote more of my time to anatomy for the study of it pleases me more than the rest. I do not like to say much for myself but you ought to ask my Uncle about it for you might think that I am not telling the truth or I am praising myself to much so I advice you to write to him that you may be sure of what I am doing as you take so much interest in it je vous en ai beaucoup gre pour l'interet dont vous me temoigne

I received a letter from my dear sister in which she announces me her marriage with Mr Epps [85] I hope she shall be happy with him. I hope that she has written to you on the subject, it seems that the gentleman is very respected in Quebec by all his friends. the information given to my Uncle by one of Governor Aylmer [86] Aide de Camp are very good. I have written to Papa a few weeks ago and wrote him a very long letter letting him know all what is passed in Paris since my last letter. It is very singular that he has not received any of my letters since my arrival in Paris. I have written twice a year and sometimes more, and still not one of them has reached him I cannot account how this happens. I hope by this time that he have received one he is very uneasy, in every one he has written he complains that I am forgetting him. He may be sure that I never [ms torn] I am writing to him at this moment I hope little Mary is quite well so is her Mother I shall write in a few weeks again. Remember me kindly to Mr McKenzie family I wish you a good health and life long

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[85] William Randolph Eppes (1795-1849), Assistant Commissary General in the British army, married John's sister Eliza in 1832.

[86] Matthew Whitworth-Aylmer (1775-1850), fifth Baron Aylmer, Governor-in-Chief of Canada from 1831 to 1835.

I am Your Nephew JOHN McLOUGHLIN
Rue de la Paix No 8
24 Feb. 1833
I enclose a letter for John.

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58. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

FORT VANCOUVER 1st March 1833.

MY DEAR COUSIN I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your very well written letter of the 23rd April and am happy to see that you have now begun to study Business and as you are a member of the Young mens society one of the very Best Institutions that could be devised for the forwarding [of] the improvement of youth I will not trouble you with advise as I am certain you do not require it and that your own good sense and the very good opportunities you have will tell you what is most proper and becoming for you to do in a more clear and forceful manner than it is possible even if I had the ability to do in the space of a letter – You are young and in proportion as you Exert to improve yourself the better will you be able to make your way through the world with satisfaction to yourself and credit to your friends – Be careful to do everything you do as well as you possibly can and as quick as possible – be mindful to keep yourself constantly employed either doing or learning something and you may depend if you act thus and avoid all idleness that you will succeed in the world. Many people will complain of want of success in the world but if we examine we will often find that it is more owing to themselves – than to others.

I am happy to see that you keep up your correspondence with John and I hope you will continue to do so – recollect the distance between you is so great that he may not receive your letters nor you his – and you may therefore be Both Disappointed and when you go to Quebec I hope you will go to see my sister and my Daughter Eloisa

I am my dear Cousin Yours truly JOHN McLOUGHLIN

59. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

PARIS, August 8, 1833

DEAR JOHN Yours of the 14th June reached me this morning in a thoughtful moment. I was thinking of your good father and mother, I was telling to one of our cousins how happy I should be to see you all once more I had scarcely finished the sentence when the servant brought me your letter containing the unexpected news. It is impossible to give you a discription of what I felt after reading your kind letter I could not forbear from shedding tears. this relieved me very little enough to write you immediately that I partake the grief of the family.[87] It is your poor father that is to be most pitied, he being so old. Do what you can pour les console. I know it is not as easy to do as to say, but at all events you must endeavour to command yourself on such a point I know if I should find them in low spirits I should join them. I hope this will find you all in good health I shall write to your father but I am afraid d'eveiller en lui de triste souvenir so I shall wait a little longer and I suppose he is as contented when I write to you as to himself.

Permit me to thank you and your father for the praise and rank you made of my abilities I shall always endeavor to satisfy everybody this is if I can If I fail it will not be by want of hard application I devote the whole day in studying. I am sorry I did not apply as I ought to have done when I was a boy your good father often told me I should repent of it and I never took or paid the slightest attention to what he said if I had followed his good advices I should be more informed than I am I regret every moment I lost I wish I had to begin over again my studies. Do you correspond with my sister I wrote to her to do so I do not know if she has fulfilled my request do not wait till she begins. Before I conclude this letter I must let you know how these three memorable days of July 1830[88] were celebrated there never existed any fete so handsome (I use this word to give the expressing of my idea), 27 July all the churches were covered in black that is the front and inside. Great judgment and taste were displayed in all the decorations that of the Louvre was the most remarkable; a funeral Column placed in the angle next the river attracted attention afar off, and at the tomb a temporary scaffolding covered with black cloth bore inscribed in large white characters, the simple but impressive epitaph Morts pour la Patrie. Behind this scaffolding were placed the musicians of the National Guard and of the line, who executed funeral music throughout the day. In isolated spots in which one or two of the victims were buried the attention of passengers was attracted by simple monuments erected by the friends of the deceased. Service was performd at all the places of religious worship of every persuasion. The pont arcole as the scene of one of the most memorable exploits of the three days was profusely decorated several things I omit in consequence that you have never seen the spots the streets were so crowded that it was impossible to pass on the 28 all the troops and National Guard was reviewed. It is impossible to exaggerate the enthusiasm with which he was received throughout his whole progress number of troops reviewed [manuscript torn] been 100000. Immediately after the review all crowded in the Tuileries garden to hear the music. the place contained 500 musicians. I could not [manuscript torn] in consequence I was engaged with ladies to go out and see the illumination and fire works. No pen can give the discription of it if I was to try I would only spoil it so I only will tell you it is impossible that any person can give a real description. I will not trouble you any on this subject. I have written a little note to [illegible] I am sorry I had not seen him for I should have written a longer note. I will not seal it but after you have read it you can do so. Do not forget to mention to him that he is to write me now and then. I am happy to hear that he is doing well and that he has a child so stout. I hope his child will not meet with the same fate as the others. How is Dr. Gegon getting on at Terrabonne is he esteemed. I am told he is not a very bad medical man – that he knows something about his profession for my part I shall endeavor to settle in Paris that is if I can enter in the hospital, but before settling I shall pay you all a visit I am at this moment preparing for two concourses I do not know if I shall succeed for they are very difficult but I hope to distinguish myself in it. Remember me kindly to all my friends. Is Miss Dumar [?] married I hope that Norben [?] is doing well in his studies – try to send me the address as soon as you can. I hope to go to England next year. Do not forget me to your good mother and tell her I shall never forget her attention while I was with her and a nuisance. Does she enquire about me when she sees you. By the Bye how is Margeret Beauchamp and her brother getting on Let me [hear] all about her and him. I should ask you more but I am afraid of annoying you to much at all events I shall be content if you give me all what I ask. I have motives for doing so which I shall let you know later I [am] in hopes my dear

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[87] John Fraser refers to the death of his sister, Dr. Simon Fraser's daughter Mary, on May 21, 1833.

[88] July Revolution of 1830.

John to correspond more frequently. Do you show my letters to your father If it is so I shall not trouble with such questions but shall write it on a separate leave [leaf].

May God bless you and your father & mother
Your truly Cousin JOHN MACLOUGHLIN
Rue de la Paex No 8
8 August 1833

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60. JOHN FRASER TO JOHN McLOUGHLIN

MONTREAL August 1833

DEAR COUSIN I regret much to have none of your favors to acknowledge, but I am in the expectation of hearing from you soon.

The purport of this letter is merely to give you some information respecting your Father and Governor Simpson. The latter having come down lately has brought more recent news from Columbia and has proceeded some days since to New York with his Lady,[89] from whence he intended to sail by the 1st August London Packet, and will be in London about the time this reaches you, where you can address him to procure news from the North West. His address is merely this to "The Governor of the Honble Hudson Bay Coy, London."

A Voyageur who came down in his canoe tells me he served three years under your father at Columbia, where he says he was then acting as Governor, as Mr. Simpson seldom goes as far as that; and his property there is very considerable, he is *very very ri*ch, he says also that he heard that your Father was coming down next year. We have long heard of it, and it must surely soon be the case. I have not any thing to say about your sister, and this convinces me she must be well or else I would have heard. I am glad to inform you that notwithstanding the great sorrow in which My Father was immersed, he is at present tolerably well, altho he had repeated attacks of his old sickness. (The Cholera of this Country) which he has had for several years I doubt not that you remember the weaknesses the Diarrhea that made him always so very low, as to fear for his recovery. he has been attacked most uncommonly often and were you to see him now, dear John, you should scarcely know him, that much he has grown older since my poor Sister's death, no not ten years could have altered him as much. I was very much afraid (and he says it himself) he will be carried away by that sickness.

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[89] Frances Ramsay, eighteen-year-old daughter of Geddes Mackenzie Simpson, married her cousin George Simpson in London on February 24, 1827.

My mother is tolerably well too, and they both join me to wish you their most sincere respects, and to your Uncle also.

Merance, Elie Marguerite, and their families are all very well. The fact is they are all well in Terre Bonne, no deaths nor marriages always dull.

Miss D. Dumas not yet married and may not be for sometime. Prevost is here and there quite inconstant, this is the only objection.

I intimated to you in a former letter that I would be happy to write on Politics, it being a busy time then on that subject, I had taken a glance at some Papers and would soon have been a politician, if I could have had an opportunity of watching the Affairs of the Country, but I soon dropped this matter having but so short a time to myself, which I could employ for better purposes,– all I will say now about it is that the last legislature had been sitting for six months doing nothing (except spending a great share of the revenues) and have effected-nothing, they wish to cast [off] the English Government, they will never do it, they wish to be independant, that is what they cannot be, and will every day become harder for them to effect their purpose. Emigration continues every year of old County People, who are quite happy to live here, having no tax or such like things to pay, and they would soon stop them in their malicious design. A Company has been formed called the "British American Land Coy" whose capital will not be less than £ 500,000 to buy the wild lands of this Province, and dispose of them to Emigrants coming out here, and will by these means increase the English population to such an extent that the Canadians will not dare attempt a revolt which was at one time very much anticipated. We will then be quiet and not fear for our lives, which are somewhat in danger now.

Pray, John, what are your Studies, amusements, Company &c, &c, how do you enjoy yourself?

May I be allowed to ask you. I have heard so much of Paris that I can immagine how one can pass his time there are so many different Sciences, recreations, and ranks?

I wish you to be as well as I am and remain Your affectionate Cousin J. F. No 1 Tavern Keepers

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61. JOHN FRASER TO DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN

Montreal 20th April 1834

Dear Cousin: Your estimable letter of 1st March 1833 came to hand earlier than usual, which was on the 13 Augt. this I believe is considered very quick and expeditious travelling in your part of the Country, and thought so far from the very great disadvantages that oppose the course.–

Notwithstanding eminent [imminent] danger to which travellers are exposed, I am informed of your coming down this year, with the whole of your Family; I sincerely hope it will be the case, that they may benefit the advantages of civilized World, and making yourself the more happy in the enjoyment of Sociable and entertaining Society which is one of the great comforts of life.

I received during the past year several letters from John, he was then very much engaged in study and had obtained the degree of Bachelor in Medicine, his uncle is very much pleased with him, which shows that John is applying himself closely, he mentions that if he could only enter the hospital, he would not doubt of making a good living, there is not the least fear with the help of his uncle [Dr. David McLoughlin], who has so much distinguished himself that he will attain that object.– A young man lately come out from France, says that his Uncle does not make less than 10,000 (pounds) a year, a very large sum indeed.

I perceive by the News Paper that his Uncle married in December last [1833]. I suppose you have been written too about it.

Mr. & Mrs. Eppes were very well when I last heard and also of the birth of an offspring.–

Since my last, we had much misfortune at Home, by the loss of my little Sister Mary, who died on the 21st May last year, this I can assure you has greatly affected my Father and Mother – She was their only consolation in my absence, and at an age when she was the most amusing.– Papa took great delight to make her speak, altho young – to say little in her favor, she was considered to be Witty and Clever – he was very much entertained by her and her loss has greatly impaired on his health, this along with his money matters have operated a wonderful change in his appearance, which I am much afraid is the prognostic of his approaching End, indeed the frequent attacks of his old sickness and the low state he is brought in at these moments seem to confirm the deplorable anticipation.

They were very well at Home by last accounts. Mr. Rod[erick] McKenzie had been unwell. [JOHN FRASER]

JOHN McLOUGHLIN for him April 1834 North West.

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62. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

FORT VANCOUVER 1st Feby 1835

MY DEAR COUSIN Your kind letter of the 20th April last reached me on the 16th Octr by which I had the pleasure to be informed of your Welfare. I am as you may suppose happy to see that you have acquired a complete knowledge of keeping Books and as you justly observe a Knowledge of Goods is highly important and with the opportunities you have you cannot fail to become perfectly acquainted with them and with Mercantile Business in General and this with Industry and OEconomy you will be certain to make your way through the World. I had a long letter from John he says he is Studying and on his own account I hope he is. I suppose by this time that he has taken his Degrees. Whether he will settle in France or come back to Canada I cannot say. I see you all Expected me down and in truth I had given Reasons to Expect I would do so But Circumstances arose which prevented my being able to do so, though certainly nothing could give me greater pain than to be obliged to Deprive myself of the pleasure of seeing my Relations and friends. In one of your former letters you mention that there was a Young mans Society formed in Montreal pray is it still going on. I would think it a most Valuable Institution as it is not only an Agreeable place to Dissipate Ennui But Valuable from the oppertunities it affords of Acquiring information these Young Mens Societies have done immense Good wherever they have been formed With Best Wishes Believe me to Be My Dear John Your Affectionate Cousin

John McLoughlin

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63. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

Montreal 14th Feby 1835

My Dear John: Excuse me if I have come to you once more for cash. Will you send me via M. Dumas four or five pounds – I am writing to Mr. Fraser at Quebec for some money.

Yours J. McLoughlin

Saturday 2 ocl [o'clock]

[Inclosed is the following note:] I am forced to ask you to advance me some more money. I have this month board to pay – not to trouble you any more till I receive my letter from Quebec let me have ten pounds by saturday's post. I am in great want, I will be much obliged to you for it.

J. McLoughlin

do not disappoint me, if you cannot send all send at least half of it.

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64. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

Montreal 14 March 1835

My Dear Uncle, I am sorry to say that I have not as yet received any letters from Paris if no letter comes in the course of this month I will not be admitted to pass this session I shall be forced to wait till next year. I have written to him [Dr. David McLoughlin] several letters and I do not know what hinders him from doing as I suppose that he does not wish me to take my diploma so soon. I intend to write him to morrow and enquire the reason why he did not write or send my certificates. I have also written to Mr Fraser in Quebec for some money I do not know if he will consent to it though he his authorized to do so till the 1 May. Remember me kindly to Mr McKenzie: family

I remain Yours truly J M Loughlin
Dr Fraser Terrebonne

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65. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

Montreal 25 March 1835

My dear John, On the receipt of your father's letter I immediately went to one of the professors and show it to him and he told me that it was impossible that I could pass without showing my certificate so for my Uncle's negligence I have lost one year more though the certificate would come at this very moment it would be to[o] late. There is no hope of my succeeding in the Canadian board for they are so great an enemy to our institution that they would do all they could to reject me. I have spoke to one of them and he gave me to understand that I would not succeed. Show this to your father I will write again

Yours truly J M Loughlin[90]

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66. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

Montreal, 27 March 1835

My Dear John, I received yours and your Fathers letter this morning and I make haste to answer yours immediately. You were requiring a memorandum of the Money you had advanced me I referred to the letters I received from you and the dates are the following:

	Nov. 27	10	pounds
x It was John Trudeau who made the receipt if you recollect.	Jan. 17	6 – 4	
	x Jan. 19	10 –	
	Feb. 7	10 –	
	Mar. 6	5 –	
	total	41 – 4	

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[90] "No letter from Quebec I cannot account for Mr. Fraser negligence," is written on the back of the letter.

So I received 1 – 4 pounds too much and you paid my bill to the shoemaker and to the Carte and for making my shirts the amount I am totally ignorant of – will you look in your books and see how much that is. I might have received more but I do not find any letters so I hope you will take the trouble and send it to me by to morrow post send also the letter I wrote you some time ago containing the amount of my expenses to morrow. Do not forget to do so – your father wrote me that he had received 25 pounds from Rueben and he wishes me to account for the 75 pounds already laid out. The McGill college [91] will not admit me.

I send you your receipt. I remain Yours truly

J. McLoughlin

I shall write to your father to morrow.

My note to John McLoughlin £ 40.0.0 7 November 1834

Terre Bonne 7 Nov 1834

£ 40.0.0

On demand I promise to pay Mr. John McLoughlin or order the sum of Forty Pounds Halifax Currency with Interest from this date, for value received. John Fraser

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67. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN [FRASER]

Montreal 6 April 1835

Dear John, I wrote to your Father but he has not answered my letter. In the same letter I mentioned that I wanted some money but it seems that he did not pay any attention to my demand though he his aware that I have to pay for my board and that if he waits a little longer he cannot send the sum [of] money on consequence of the ice getting so bad. Will you be so kind as to make him remember it and I shall be obliged to you.

The Medical Board met this morning but they could not form a majority, so the young men having to wait till the next meeting this is the second time they done so. the most part are gone to Quebec at the meeting. Will you on the receipt of this send me an answer. I have send the letter to Mr Keith but he has not given me an answer. he may have written to your father without my knowing of it.

I remain Dear John Yours truly J McLoughlin

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[91] McGill University, in Montreal, was chartered in 1821; teaching began eight years later.

68. I. H. TRUDEAU TO DR. SIMON FRASER

Montreal 7th April 1835

Mr. Fraser

Sir You will pardon me for troubling you with regard to Mr. J. McLoughlin. I feel anxious to know If Mr. Fraser will be accountable for Mr. McL. Board which Will Amount on the 11th of this month to 6–0–0 (pounds) being for two Month's Board.

Mr. Fraser will please let me know as soon as leisure will permit him to do so.

I am with respect Your etc. I. H. Trudeau Std. Med.

Doctor Fraser Terrebonne

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69. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

Montreal 8 April 1835

My Dear Sir: I wrote you sometime last week, but I have not received any answer from you. Will you be so kind as to forward me before the ice breaks the money which you have in your possession – the Medical Board met the 6th of this month but there was no majority so it was put off till the next month.

I have not as yet received any letter from Mr. Keith in answer to the one I sent him he may write you instead of me.

I remain Yours truly J. McLoughlin

[Post Marked] Montreal 8 April 1835

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70. DR. SIMON FRASER TO JOHN McLOUGHLIN

Terrebonne 12 April 1835

Mr John McLoughlin

Sir I have this moment been informed that the canoes for the North West are to sett off from Lachine the 20th Ist. I yesterday wrote to Mr. Keith in answer to his letter of [blot] in which he expressed a wish to wait for the arrival of Mr. Finlayson [92] who was hourly expected he Mr. K. says that Mr. Finlayson might explain your fathers views &c – in my letter of yesterday I explained more fully my reasons for requesting a passage for you I hope he will consent you will on receipt of this letter call immediately on Mr. Keith and request of him as a particular favor to procure you a passage to Fort Vancouver Columbia river. You know or ought to know that I have not the means to maintain you in Montreal that your father tho' much richer than myself would not support you at the rate you have lately done.[93]

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[92] Duncan Finlayson (1795-1862), in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company since 1815, promoted Chief Factor in 1831, served on the Columbia as assistant of Dr. John McLoughlin from 1831 to 1837. In 1834-35 he was granted a furlough. A brother-in-law of Lady Simpson, the wife of Sir George Simpson, in 1844, he succeeded James Keith in charge at Lachine.

You will let me Know the result of your visit as soon as possible you have no time to lose. You have not yet sent me the statement I requested of you and shown how your money was expended. If you go to the Columbia (which I most earnestly wish) you will account to your father in the meantime you must not expect any money from me before I receive the statement I demanded of you I am apprehensive you will not have time to visit your sister in Quebec. I expected the Canoes would not leave Lachine before May, but they are advertised for the 20th Apl this however [may] have been done to make the men come to Lachine where they may wait a few days more Mr. Keith will inform you when it will be necessary for you to come to Lachine. you must be very attentive not to come too late it is better you should be there a day or two too soon and wait for your passage I again repeat you will let me know immediately the result of your visit. you will also send me a list of cloathes etc. You may have left at my house. They will be [of] use in the canoe. if you have time you will come to Terrebonne that will depend on the information you receive from Mr. Keith I am &c Simon Fraser

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[93] John McLoughlin's account shows the following entries on April 14, 1835:

Paid for John McLoughlin

To Mrs. Trudeau	Board	$32	
To Arquet	Shoes	2	2/
To Washerwoman		2	
To Joseph Trudeau	A Hat	5	
To John Trudeau	Stockings	1	
		$42	2/

Accounts to be paid

Joseph Boulanget	£17.11.6
Ney Smith	9.16
Louis Blanchard	3
	£30.7.6

71. DR. SIMON FRASER TO GEORGE MOFFATT

Confidential

TERREBONNE 24 Apl 1835

DEAR SIR I have to thank you for your kind favor of 20th Jul I am not so well pleased with John McLoughlins behaviour in Montreal as I was when at my house last summer It was not then necessary to trust him with money he has expended more money than I think justifiable, I am consequently determined not to let him have any more till he sends me a regular statement how the last was expended. I take the liberty to enclose a letter open for your perusal addressed to him (Mr. J. McL) which I beg you will seal and forward at Mr. Trudeaus I intend sending Mr. J McLoughlin to Mr. J. M. Fraser in Quebeck whom I will request [to] send the Young Man with as little delay as possible to my brother Alex Fraser at Riviere du Loup, to remain there till next fall, when if he meets with my brothers approbation he will come to Montreal to attend the Medical Lectures A Degree or Diploma from McGill College will carry equal weight with one from Edinburgh. I will of course write Dr D McLoughlin and acquaint him with these particulars, indeed my Dear Sir I am greatly apprehensive that our protege cannot be trusted out of sight, he possesses considerable abilities but cannot be made to study. A physician must study as long as he lives, his toils never end. John McLoughlin in my opinion is a very improper person for a Physician, you will ask what is to be done, I really do not know. I wished to send him to his father but could not get a passage from Mr Keith I request as a particular favor that you will write to the Young Man, direct him [to] procure a certificate from every one of his Medical teachers of his regular attendance at lectures particularly on examination days tell him that you require these certificates at his Uncles earnest request to be inclosed and sent to him (his Uncle) he has no occasion to know which uncle. I will not require any money on the young man's account before he is sent to Quebec, when I will send you an account of the balance which may be due me together with what may be necessary for this journey to river du loup, I will request the favor of your procuring a passage in a Steam boat for Quebec. I cannot will not trust him with money if I can help it. SIMON FRASER

72. JOHN TRUDEAU TO JOHN FRASER

MONTREAL 29th April 1835

Rec from Mr. John Fraser by the Hands of Mr. Desjardain Le Postilion, the sum of Thirty dollars for Mr. John McLoughlin – his board. Three months being due on the 11th May. at Sixty Shillings per month. being nine pounds on which act. one pound has been recd by Mr. McLoughlin and seven pounds 10/ by Mr. Fraser leaving a balance on the 11th of May of ten shilling due to Mrs. Trudeau.

J. O. A. TRUDEAU I. M. F. TRUDEAU

I have written by LaPoint to you last week he is to leave for Terrebonne today. Please answer the contents. I am Sir I.M.F.T.

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73. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

MONTREAL 8 May 1835

MY DEAR SIR: I am to leave this place as soon as the steamboat will leave – My trunk arrived today and I am much obliged to you for your kindness in forwarding it.

I remain Yours etc J. MCLOUGHLIN

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74. SISTER ST. HENRY TO DR. SIMON FRASER

(Translated from the French original)

URSULINES QUEBEC the 11th of May 1835

MY VERY DEAR UNCLE, I am extremely sorry for the trouble and sadness which my nephew gives you, but for heavens sake, do not send him to Rivière du Loup. My uncle Alexander is too infirm to take care of the conduct of the young man. My Mother can barely see to distinguish objects, she is unable to walk alone, besides her sensitivenss increases with the years, she would die of sadness, to see that child run wild in the country, for charity's sake, My dear Uncle, place this child at some estate of your vicinity, do not abandon him, I beg of you, he would fall from excesses to excesses, if he does not have a Master, you have been as a father to him, I beg of you to finish and crown your deed.

If it would happen that your son will come through Quebec, I will invite him to make the acquaintance of his cousins, he will find here with me two Novices, Saint Cecile and Saint Borgia, the first is the daughter of my sister Julie Michaud, the second one of the youngest of my sister Angele Dechene. They promise to be attractive subjects, they both have a sister in boarding school. I am awaiting some news from my brother David, I regret to see that from your letter, you do not expect my brother Jean for a long time, I hoped that he would at least arrive next year. I pray Heaven that you may live many years and in this, my Mother, and my Nieces are with me with all their hearts. I have the honor to be, with my profound respect

My Dear Uncle Your devoted Affectioned Niece

SISTER SAINT HENRY

DOCTOR FRASER Terrebonne

75. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER[94]

QUEBEC 21 May 1835

MY DEAR JOHN, I write you a few lines as I have but a few minutes to do so – Will you be so kind as to tell your father that I am in great need of clothes. You have seen those I had and it is impossible for me to pay any visit with them. If he is willing you will let the tailor know of it immediately. It is so cold here that it is impossible to wear summer hose and I have no other at this moment.

I remain JOHN McLOUGHLIN

An answer as soon as possible.

I address this letter with black sealing wax as I have no other.

76. CONFECTIONER CONNET TO DR. SIMON FRASER

MONTREAL June 1 1835

To the DOCTOR FRASER
at Terre bonne

DOCTOR FRASER It is with sincere regret that I find myself obliged to write you in order to advise you that Mr. Makloklin [McLoughlin] your nephew has opened a small account with me for the small sum of 7 piatres and 1 shilling having been deceived by him as a debt of honor and counting on the respectability of his family. It is true that the sum is not of very great importance but for me it is much.

He has left here without giving me any notice nor giving me any hope that is why Sir I take the liberty to ask you to intercede for me with him and to have this small sum sent to me of which I have great need.

All expenses made by your nephew at my place were for beverage and pastries and sweets.

Please Sir give me satisfaction by an answer on your part

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[94] See illustration, Plate 6 (page 264).

And I will have for you all the consideration and gratitude which is due you.

Your faithful servant CONNET

Confectioner across the street (Court House at Montreal)

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77. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

QUEBEC 8 June 1835

MY DEAR JOHN I wrote you two letters and I am sorry that I have not received any answer to them. you are perfectly aware that I am very anxious to know whether your Father consented to order me a new suit of clothes *Yes* or *Not* will you at the same time ask him who is to supply me with cash for Mr Fraser says that he has no order from your father to pay my passage to Rivier du Loup. How can your father have sent me to Quebec without before hand made all these arrangements and not let me in trouble. Let your Father write to Mr Fraser and tell him to get me these articles that I am in great need of. Remember me kindly to all my friends. have you got the boot I left behind.

I am Yours JOHN MACLOUGHLIN

I also want a pair of boots. Did your Father receive my letters from Europe if he has any for me will you forward them immediately.

J MACLOUGHLIN

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78. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

QUEBEC 15 June 1835

MY DEAR SIR I wrote a couple of letters to your son and in answer to them he says that you are not willing to give me any of the articles that I requested him to beg of you. It is certainly very strange that I must go barefoot. Surely you are not without any feeling of humanity although I have lost your friendship it is not the reason why you should leave me go without shoes. get the boots made in your village if you will not trust me with the money, or order Mr Fraser to get them for me and other articles such as a Hat, Stockings cotton drawers and when I get those articles I shall not trouble you any More of any thing

I remain Yours J MACLOUGHLIN

79. SISTER ST. HENRY TO DR. SIMON FRASER[95]

(Translated from the French original)

URSULINE QUEBEC June 17th, 1835

MY DEAR UNCLE I have postponed answering your last letter, I wanted to see what my nephew J. McLoughlin would do during his sojourn here. He is staying with his sister M. Eppes, and seems to be fond of her. My uncle Alexander is in the city at this moment. He is very ruddy, is in good health and looks well. Apparently Jean will go down with him to Rivière du Loup, I do not expect to see J. McLoughlin as a farmer, he says that he wants to continue the study of Medicine.

My dear Uncle, please excuse this importunity, I would not take this liberty, if my uncle Alexander had not requested me to offer you David Michaud, to enable him to have the precious advantage to study Medicine under your paternal guidance, D. Michaud lives at the Rivière du Loup since his return from Paris, Uncle Alexander would take care of the expenses of the trip for this child if you would have the kindness to encourage him.

My dear Uncle, please do me the favor of a reply with your usual punctuality, as it is very much to be desired that this child will not remain idle. My Mother wishes to assure you of her tender and affectionate remembrance, she is as well as her age permits her to be, Your nephews and Nieces offer you their respects and their sincere prayers for your well being and also from the one who with all her heart and with the most profound respect remains

My dear Uncle Your very humble Niece S. ST. HENRY
DOCTOR S. FRASER Terrebonne

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80. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

QUEBEC, 23 June 1835

MY DEAR JOHN: I wrote to your father immediately after I had received yours, but am sorry to say that he has not answered it. I do not know if he is at all willing to do so yes or no. I stated in the letter the articles I wanted, but he seems not to have payed any attention to it. I do not know if he is willing to give the boots I want. I am in great need of them for mine are full of holes and worn out. I cannot go to Riviere-du-Loup without boots and cash to pay for my passage. John Fraser told me that he has had no orders to pay for my passage, then I am sent to Quebec without knowing what I have to do: Your father has certainly acted wrong in having sent me so who is then to pay my washing woman bill. You know and so does your father that I Have not a single farthing and still he does not exert himself more than if I was dead if he is not willing to yield to my request. Why does he not say so at once and not keep me in waiting so long for his answer to my letter. Although I have squandered the money I got last winter I am not for that to go without a single stitch of clothes – I think my father himself would not have acted so. I am certain he would have clothed me – I have let you know the articles I want – a *hat* – a *blue surtout* – a pair of Boots, a dozen of socks and a couple of Pair of *drawers* and cash to pay for my passage to Riviere-du-Loup – the sooner he sends the articles the sooner I shall go to my destination. You will oblige me much in letting him know what I want – and as soon as you get answer let me know – You say that I have a habit of [not] writing about myself to tell you the truth. I never on that point say much but as you are wishing to know I shall in a few words let you know. I am reading over my books of medicine and correcting the notes I took last winter in Montreal, and in my moments of liesure reflect what will be better for me to do in order to finish my studies. I will never finish them if they continually keep me in the country. Bye-the-Bye have you enquired about the book – I wish you would order the taylor yourself. I am sure I would return you the money – could you let me have the amount for the receipt I made on board the steamboat with that I'll get the hat and other article I want. If you were to do so I should be very happy and it would [be] engraved in my memory of your action and if ever I could return the same I would do it immediately. An answer will be accepted with the greatest pleasure. Remember me kindly to your mother and all my friends. How is Miss Dumas – I am yours.

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[95] See illustration, Plate 7 (page 265).

J. McLoughlin

I am sure you could easily do what I ask of you if you were to see me. You would not hesitate. My coat is torn and I have not a single farthing to pay to get it mended and I have to pay for my washing and I have nothing to do it with. Could you then send me the amount I request you will oblige me much.

JMcL.

J. Fraser Merchant
Terrebonne

81. J. F. PELLETIER TO DR. SIMON FRASER

Montreal, July 1st, 1835

Dear Sir John L. Neysmith, a merchant of this city, has just left for the United States and had requested, before his departure, that I collect the accounts due him. Among these accounts is one due by Mr. John McLaughlin, medical student, in the sum of £ 9.16.0. It was after Mr McLaughlin had assured him that you would be responsible for the bills to him, that Mr Neysmith advanced this much to your nephew. And he did not doubt but what you would pay this account as soon as it was presented. On my side I flatter myself that you will honor this request by a reply and that you will pay this little debt in the same way as you have already paid the other creditors of Mr McLaughlin. Doing this will bring honor to Dr. Fraser

Your very humble servant J. F. Pelletier lawyer

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82. DR. SIMON FRASER TO SISTER ST. HENRY

Terrebonne July 7th, 1835

My dear Niece, I am sorry to bother you in your retreat, my excuse is that I have no one in Quebec to whom I might entrust family matters. Last Saturday I received a letter from Honorable G. Moffatt informing me that your nephew John McL. had written him requesting him to send him five to six pounds present rate of exchange, for personal effects; that he had written me often without obtaining an answer, I would ask you to tell John to spare himself the trouble to write me, before sending me a detail of the manner in which he has used his money, if not exactly, at least approximatively; I have about eight to ten pounds remaining of the money which I received £ 160. as well from Mr. J. M. Fraser as from Mr. Moffatt. I have not paid the latter [one word illegible] £ 3.0.0 nor the other extravagant expenses which John has contracted in Montreal. I shall see why Mr. J. M. Fraser has not written, I am convinced that he would have sent John to the Rivière du Loup if the latter would have wanted to go there. It appears that Mrs. Eppes is keeping him at her home. I approve her brotherly charitable feelings this shows her kindness and is to her honor, I hope that John will appreciate this service, that he may think it over while it is yet time; he has talents instead of being a despicable being by his extravagance and by his laziness; he could if he wanted to, become useful instead of making his family blush, he could do them honor. On June 19th. last, I wrote your brother David, requesting him to help me with his advice in regard to John. In the meantime, if Mr. Eppes will take care of John, I will send him (Mr. Eppes) the balance of the funds which remain with me, and I would request the Honorable George Moffatt give him the money which your brother David has placed at my disposal with Mr. Moffatt. I kindly ask you my dear Niece to talk to Mr. & Mrs. Eppes of this matter namely to take care of John, they could send him to the Rivière du Loup for the balance of the summer while waiting to receive letters from Paris, during the coming Fall. I suggest that you as well as Mr. & Mrs. Eppes should write to receive counsel from David. Mr. Eppes could send John to Montreal to finish his studies there or in the United States, Montreal would be preferable as a Certificate Diploma from Montreal would serve for the entire extent of the British Domination, without excepting the Indies where David could arrange an advantageous situation for John. John, if he will persist in his laziness and spendthriftiness, will forfeit that advantage and will become the worst of the worst, may it please God that my fears will be without foundation. The endeavour may cost your brother some money, but he would have the satisfaction, in his unhapiness, that he had done everything which depended of him. I urgently beg of you to show this paragraph to John and to add thereto all urgent appeals which you may find necessary. John can well be assured that if he neglects to profit by the counsel which I am giving him, he will perrish in the mire.

I repeat that I think that the best solution is to send John to the Rivière du Loup, in order to await the letters from Paris, you know that one cannot expect to receive letters from your brother John McLoughlin before two or three years, in the meantime I hope that Mr. & Mrs. Eppes will take care of his brother in law John McLoughlin and that the latter will see the need to comport himself with Prudence I repeat again that I would be greatly obliged to Mr. Eppes if he would take care of his brother in law He is much better fitted for that job that I, he is young, I am too old and I am prejudiced against John. You may show this letter to Mr. & Mrs. Eppes

I am, My Dear, your affectionate uncle SIMON FRASER

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83. DR SIMON FRASER TO J. F. PELLETIER

TERRE BONNE July 14, 1835

DEAR SIR In reply to yours of the first, I am in no way obliged to pay the debt in question

I have the honor to be Sir, your very humble servant S. FRASER

84. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

Rivière du Loup 28 Aug 1835

My Dear John I wrote to you before leaving Quebec and I have not as yet received any answer. I allude this negligence to your want of time. You are aware that a line from you will always be received with pleasure. If I write to you at this present moment it is to introduce [to] you a cousin of ours which is sent to your father that he might suberintend his education in medicine, and I hope you will pay every attention in your power. The young man's name is David Michaud. I assure you he is going contrary to his feelings but to show his good will to inform himself in his profession he had condescended to the wishes of our Uncle Alex Fraser, although he is perfectly aware that your father will show him the door. For my Aunt has already written to your father and he has refused him – fait en sorte that he may receive no Insult – I have advised him not to go but he is obliged to obey – He has a letter of Introduction which has been written under the dictate of Alex Fraser, and he made my grand mother sign it. Perhaps your father will blame her but you may tell him she was forced to do so. The young man can tell you all about it. I advised him to go to you at first and hear what you will tell him on the subject. For my part I am study as much as I can – what I will tell you on this subject would be repeating what I have said in my other letters. Will you be so kind as to purchase for me a Davier et un deschaupain [96] in fact a complete set of Instruments for extracting teeth, and you will tell me how much it will cost you that I might send the money back. I can make a little money with my profession so as to enable me to continue my classes. I hope you will not disoblige me on this point. I should have purchased some in Quebec but there is none to be had. You can send them to the care of J. M. Fraser and with a note telling him to forward it by the post to Riviere du Loup. We have a great tract of land and they are situated in the central of the *Parish* Had I money I should buy a very fine property just the neighbour of ours. This property in time will increase and we will be happy [with] what we *now* have. How is my friend Mr Raby and Lady getting on [torn, probably "remember"] me kindly to them and to Miss [torn] she is married at this if not she [torn] wait for me tell her so in joke and see what she will say certainly she his a fine girl. My best complements to your Mother and to Mr and Mrs Mackenzie to Mr and Mrs Duncan to Mr Buck family. How is D. Prevost getting on with His hatts[?] Do not forget all the news Is &c Gegou[?] married.

I remain Yours & J McLoughlin

an answer as soon as possible

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[96] Davier and Déchaussoir, French expressions for tooth forceps and gum lancet.

85. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

QUEBEC 6 Jan. 1836

MY DEAR JOHN, Excuse me if I trouble you with another of my scribbling but I cannot leave you in peace. The motive which induces me to write this letter is that I wish you to send me from Montreal a couple of vials of vegetable Pulmonary Balsam, as soon as you can. You can get them from Hedge & Lyman's. I assure you will do me the greatest favor. I have not [been] any better since I wrote you last. I have been recommended to try of it so I have recourse to you. Is your father desirous of sending me some money to get little articles that I want. If I was not unwell I should not be so troublesome —— suffering under such a disease I cannot do otherwise. I am afraid if the same symptoms persist I think that I shall not see the snow going off in the spring for since I have been unwell I have altered so much that I am beginning to dispair.

I remain Yours truly, J McLOUGHLIN

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86. DR. SIMON FRASER TO JOHN McLOUGHLIN

TERREBONNE 12 Janry 1836

MR. J. McLOUGHLIN

SIR I have seen your letter to my son dated 6 Inst. I cannot allow any part of the money remaining with the Hon. O. G. Moffit Esq to be put at your disposal. From your remaining in Quebec I am convinced you are depraved beyond any hopes of reform. I advise you to write to your uncle Dr. David McL. immediately you may obtain an answer before May. I recd a letter from him (D McL) stating that he had applied to the Spanish Government for a Commission in their national forces for you and for Michaud that he expected an answer in a fortnight he then would write me I have not answered his letter nor heard from him since last Oct, when I recd the letter I mention You will perceive it is high time you should write to (D McL). ["It is high time you should write to learn what has been done in this business" interlined] I have some hopes of Michaud I do not wish him to go to Spain he must judge for himself [I can be of no service to him] As for you the sooner and the farther you go the better. I do not know any business you have in Quebec. I suppose you have imposed on your uncle Lt. C. Alexr Fraser by some plausible story and obtained money from him you have perhaps obtained it from your now old grand Mother deprived of what she cannot spare or you live on the credulity of some *(unfortunate tavern keeper that would be swindling)* I have so bad an opinion of you that I think you equal to any species of meanness You perhaps live on Mr Eppes who if he is not a very saint (he bears an excellent character) and fond of his wife beyond what husbands commonly are must curse the hour he became the husband of the sister of such a wretch as you are you appear to me born to disgrace every being who has the misfortune to be connected with you. If you have any the least affection for your father mother or brothers you will retire to some distant far country that you may never more be heard of. If you go to the N.W. you may live as an hunter or your father may find some manner of employing you to something useful thing which you cannot expect in civilized society superintending his farm or otherwise. If you wish it I will apply to Mr Keith for a passage for you. I hope to be able to prevail on the Honble Mr Moffat and others of your father's friends to join in the application If refused you can go up as a common Voyageur this in my opinion is the only means left to save you from destruction your sister and her children from the disgrace which you will finally bring on all those who have the misfortune to be related to you. When a boy of about eight years of age I was obliged to take you from the Reverend Mr Glen on account of the habit you had of soiling your breeches and remaining in that condition for days which caused a serious quarrel between Mr Glen and me I rated him for want of attention I blamed your mother for this filthy habit I am now convinced I was wrong the blame lay solely on your innate perversity at school in Terrebonne Messrs Glen Walker and Gill repeatedly urged me to take you away alledging that you corrupted the morals of the other boys &c, &c. that you would eventually corrupt and destroy my son. You cannot have forgotten Lachine you went on from bad to worse finally I could find no body to take you for any consideration Young as you were when you went to France your reputation was such that I could find no situation for you in Canada. I applied in vain to Mr. Moffat, Mr. Leslie &c, &c, &c in Montreal and to Mr. J. M. Fraser in Quebec your reputation always prevented every application.

You know better than I do what character you brought from France you have been kept at school for a number of years in fact till and after you were 21 years of age you must know that you are illiterate to that degree that if by any favor you should pass an examination for a Physician you would infallibly disgrace the Profession You really possess considerable abilities your invincible indolence and perverse disposition have marred your good qualities I write these lines more in sorrow than anger. I have against my will been driven to the conclusion that you are incorrigible. I consequently again advise you to write to your uncle Dr D. McLoughlin to dictate what is to be done with you. You may also apply to Lt. C. Alexr Fraser to take on him the superintendancy of your affairs for my part I will not be accessory to your father's money being spent in a manner worse than useless, it must remain with the Honble G. Moffat Esqr till it is wanted for your expedition to Spain or to forward you to the N.W. write your uncle Dr. D. McLoughlin you have no time to lose he will decide what is to be done with you I am wrong to pity you. You are well bodied can work as a common labourer and support yourself by doing so your relatives would have no cause to blush for you since your head thru want of education is so lamentably deficient you have nothing left besides being a day labourer in civilized society or an hunter among savages

Your unfortunate Uncle SIMON FRASER

N.B. Recollect that there is no real atheist than vicious persons who assent that there is no God do not themselves believe what they affirm. the truth is that they dare not reflect knowing their innate depravity they wish that for no after state S.F.

If Lt. Col. Alexr Fraser takes you under his protection you will have an opportunity to redeem yourself you had as I have above stated considerable abilities by a proper application to your studies you well may unquestionably succeed show this Paragraph to your uncle Lt C. Fraser he will be glad of an opportunity to prove me to be malicious or wrong headed

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86A. EXTRACT FROM A LETTER: DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN McLEOD, DATED FEB 1, 1836

"P.S. you may perhaps see my Eldest son. He is in montreal My Brother found him Extravagant and sent him Back. My youngest son is I believe at Addiscombe College preparing to go to the East Indies." [97]

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87. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

FORT VANCOUVER 14th Febry 1836

I have the pleasure My Dear Cousin to Acknowledge the Receipt of Yours of the 7th April last and beg to thank you for the attention you paid to my Request in attending to my Son David as Mr Finalyson informed me that on Receiving my Note you called on him at LaChine. But as you know Davids Cousin Mr Bethune[98] Kept David at Sault St Maries.[99] I had a letter from David since his Arrival in Paris and My Brother writes that he proposes to Educate him for the Engineer Department and send him out to India. And I have written to desire he will do as my Brother Wishes. As you may suppose I was much affected on Learning that John had so Misconducted himself that my Brother had been obliged to send him Back to your father who certainly at his time of life ought not to be harrassed with the care of other peoples Children, and what makes it Worse John is no longer a Child and his Errors are the less pardonable he told Mr Finlayson by way of complaint that My Brother only allowed him twenty five pounds pr Annum for his Clothing and Pocket Money, and he wrote me so formerly and I wrote him in reply if he Exerted himself at His Studies and that his Uncle was pleased with his conduct and that it was Necessary, My Brother would Increase his Allowance though while he had enough to eat and drink, was lodged, and that his teachers were paid, twenty five pounds pr Annum was enough for his clothes and for what purpose he require more money. I sent him to France to Learn how to Earn his livelihood in a Respectable Manner and giving him Money to spend in Disipation would not only have been Wrong, but would have Destroyed the very Object for which he was sent he writes me an Apology for his Misconduct but he does not write me what it was he did which obliged his Uncle to send him away and if he felt any Contrition he would not be spending more Money than is Necessary as your father Well Knows and Neglecting his Studies as Madm. Trudeau informed one of my partners Mr McDonald[100] this Gentleman called repeatedly at Madam Trudeaus and not finding John at home he appointed an hour in the Evening to meet him – When Young Men who study ought to be at home – he accordingly called as he wished to see him to give me some accounts of him from his own verbal communication John had been home to Tea But was gone out and Mad. Trudeau finding who Mr McDonald was told him John did nothing but go about and Neglected his Studies. Is he so destitute of feeling or have they been Destroyed by his Misconduct that he is not ashamed at his time of life after so much Money has been spent on his Education and having had the Oppertunities that he has had to be unable to Earn his food and to be Indebted for his support to the Labour of Another. There never was so far as I know a Young [Man] from this Country who had so fine a Prospect to begin life with and how he has thrown it away. But as my Brother has not wrote me what John has done all I do at present is to write your father that if John Conducts himself as a Gentleman and applies Zealously to his studies to Allow him any sum he considers necessary Under a hundred and fifty pounds Halifax it is more than is necessary for his support But I wish he should have enough and I do not regret the sum if he makes a Good use of it though it is not what a man spends which makes him Respectable It is his conduct and capacity that must do it. But if he acts otherwise than he ought and forgets what he owes to his friends to himslf and to me he is not to have one penny if he will not act as I wish and he ought he must support himself I have not the means to support an Idler and if I had I would not do it. I Respect myself too much to Labour for a person who does not Respect himself this as you may suppose is a subject on which I feel deeply and therefore I have been insensibly led to dwell on it longer than I intended when I began and I will conclude by praying that the Almight may in his infinite Mercy touch his heart and lead him to the paths of Virtue and Religion and what will afford him happiness and Honor in this World and in the World to come. . . Believe me to be My Dear Cousin Yours Truly

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[97] See McLoughlin Letters in the John McLeod Correspondence, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Canada.

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[98] Angus Bethune (1783-1858) was the eldest son of Reverend John Bethune and Veronica, daughter of Jean Etienne Wadin and Marie-Joseph Deguire. Marguerite Wadin McKay McLoughlin, Dr. John McLoughlin's wife and David's mother, was a daughter of Wadin and an Indian woman.

[99] Sault St. Marie, on the St. Mary's River between Lake Huron and Lake Superior, was a meeting place of Indian tribes prior to the coming of the white man. It served as post for the North West Company and later for the Hudson's Bay Company.

[100] Archibald McDonald (1790-1853), in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company at the Columbia since 1821, accompanied Governor Simpson from York Factory – the principal trade and supply center of the Honorable Company at Hudson Bay – to the Columbia in 1828. He was in charge of Fort Langley from 1828 to 1833. McDonald commanded Fort Colville from 1834 to 1844.

John McLoughlin

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88. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

Fort Vancouver 14th Feby 1836

My Dear Uncle I have now before me your two favors of the 16th and 19th April and of course it is unnecessary for me to say how much I am grieved at the cause which made it necessary for you to take so much trouble on my account and I did not Expect when I learned that my Brother had handed his letter to me of March 1834 to John to Read, that he would have shown such Want of respect to me and Ingratitude to my Brother for pardoning the trouble he had given him as only Four Days after this to commit an act (my Brother does not write me what it is and he ought to have done so) Which obliged my Brother to send him away and as he is spending more Money than is necessary and Neglecting his Studies It is Evident that what has Occurred to him has not affected him as it ought and that he is destitute of that becoming pride which would make him feel ashamed at his time of life after so much Money has been spent on him so much pains taken with him and such Excellent Opportunities afforded him to see that he is not yet qualified to Earn his own livelihood and that he must yet be Indebted for his support to the labor of an other and though he must be aware of his own Deficiency and as he writes me "de me dire dans votre prochaine quelle somme vous desirez que je tire sur vous jusqu'a ce que je suis recu Medicin c'est a dire par annee" [101] and yet Instead of Studying hard to make up for his past Errors he is Idling his time. But this is too painful a subject to dwell on and I will only say if he had felt one hundreth of what I feel he would have acted differently and all that I will now do is to Request, if you find that he conducts himself a Gentleman, and though he ought long before this to have completed his Education, still if you have continued him at it if he applies himself Zealously to his studies and shows by his conduct that he is sensible of his Errors and is fully determined to reform you will Allow him any Sum you consider necessary Under a hundred and fifty pounds Hallifax Cry [Currency] pr annum, or till you hear from me and which I authorise you to draw on my Account from the Honble George Moffatt and which he will pay In 1834 when I sent my Son David to my Brother though I consider I have funds in My Brothers hands (unless his Expenditure on John has been beyond all Bounds) I wrote him to draw on the Honbl George Moffatt for any sum he required for the support of my Sons under two hundred per Annum. In his reply to me he does not say a word of this nor does it seem that he has mentioned any thing to you as you are silent about it But John writes that my Brother has written that Mr Moffatt would supply the Money necessary for his support But if John acts improperly and forgets What he owes to himself and to his friends you will please only give him any small sum necessary to take him out of the Country I have not the means to support him as an Idler and if I had I would not do it Indeed if he had any feelings he would perceive how much Money he has cost, how much trouble he has given my friends and pain to me and would be confused with shame and Remorse and I am astonished how he did not feel too much ashamed to come Back to you However all has been done for him that could be done and I humbly implore the Almighty that of his infinite Mercy he may touch his heart – make him see the error of his Ways and reform him. But perhaps he is off to India, or that he is coming to this Country as on Receiving my Brothers Letter of 1834 I wrote My Brother to Engage John to the Hudson Bay company if he could find no other place for him But this was only as a last Resort and if he could find no other place for him and perhaps he may have done so But if he Behaves well and if there is an opening for him I would prefer he settled in Canada for the sake of seeing him however let him go where he can do Best for himself. I see that my Brother in his letter 30th June 1834 writes you that he settled with me in 1822 for a hundred pounds which you advanced for him if he will look at his account he will see that he is mistaken he accounted to me for a hundred pounds which he received of mine. I wrote him about it with Best Wishes Believe me to be

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[101] Tell me in your next letter what sum you wish that I draw on you annually until I become a doctor.

Your Affectionate Nephew JOHN McLOUGHLIN

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89. DR JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

FORT VANCOUVER 16th Feby 1836

MY DEAR UNCLE John has written me a Very contrite letter But as he is spending so much More Money that considering what he has already cost,– if he felt any Sincere contrition for his Misconduct he would spend – as I am informed that instead of applying himself Zealously to qualify himself for his profession he is Neglecting his Studies I do not write him and you will hand him the Inclosed or suppress it as you think proper

I am My Dear Uncle Your Affectionate Nephew

N B I regret much that you sent John to my poor Mother. He may give her trouble I would have preferred that you had sent him to Board at some Priests or some Respectable House in the Country. But I hope that you have not left him in town Unless he was Employed. Pray why did he not go last year on his arrival to see his sister. What I mean by leaving it optionable with you to give the Inclosed or not is that if his conduct is improper I do not wish him to have it as in that case I do not wish to hold any correspondence with him if his conduct is such as you wish let him have it J McL

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90. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

FORT VANCOUVER Mar. 25, 1836

MY DEAR UNCLE: I send you the Enclosed letter from my Brother to you merely on account of the following paragraph in it:

> I have paid my Brother for all the Money I received at Edinburgh and also Col. Fraser all he kindly advanced when I was in Quebec. When I settled with my Brother I understood the 100 pounds you so kindly Advanced were Included

If my Brother looks to his account he will find that he did not account to me for one farthing of your money – he settled. He settled with me for what money he got from Col. Fraser and for one hundred of my money. I have not my account to refer to But if I am not much mistaken I wrote you when my Brother was in Edinburgh that I had requested the N.W. Agents (It was to the late Mr. Thain I have spoken) to pay you a hundred pounds on my account – you applied for the money and Mr. Thain having omitted to take a note at my Request (and forgotten it) you did not at first get the money but you got it however after[wards] – and wrote me these circumstances. In consequence of these difficulties the year following I enclosed a draft of one hundred pounds Halifax to my Brother in a letter – When settling with him I had two hundred down in the account – He observed he only had received one which I Believe he said you sent – on seeing he said he only received the hundred you sent – out of Delicacy to him I said nothing about the Draft I had sent him in a Letter as it seems he did not receive it. I merely mention these occurrences to show you how he may by mistake supposed that he paid me the sum he got from you. I beg you will do me the favour to forward here the Enclosed Letter and

Believe me to be Dear Sir Your affectionate nephew

JOHN McLOUGHLIN

N.B. I wrote my Brother a few days ago – But as it did not strike me then that you might view it – and Indeed must view it from the manner he writes – in the way I mention here in this note – I did not send you a copy of What I wrote – I now see its importance and send this after our Express which it will overtake before It reaches the Mountains – since writing the foregoing two of our Vessels arrived from England they left the Downs 1st Sept. by them I received a letter from my Brother of the 26th July by which I see that he had received one from you of the 19th June – stating as I anticipated (from what Madam Trudeau told Mr. McDonald) that John had neglected his studies and got into Debt – that you had sent him to Riviere-du-Loup – But that a few days before writing you had received an application from him requesting you would send him shoes or money – But that you did not know where he was and concluding by informing me that he (my Brother) would endeavor to procure a situation for him in the

Spanish Army – if he has done so – or if he has Engaged him to the Company – it is not necessary to say anything more about him. But if he is still in Canada I see nothing to add to what I already wrote you – I am

Yours etc J. McLoughlin.

N.B. My Brother writes me that my son David was to be examined in Jany last to see if qualified for Admission [?] into Addiscombe College [102]

J. McL.

I would have have preferred that you had sent my Son to any place rather than Riviere-du-Loup – he may give my mother trouble – and I do not wish to be under any obligation to my Uncle. He is my Uncle and therefore I will be silent – and only say that he has not acted well towards my Mother and Sisters J. McLoughlin

If my Son is still in Canada and has not reformed you will please send him to the country, and Board him with some Priest or Minister

J. McL

Fort Vancouver April 1836
Dr. Simon Fraser Terre Bonne

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91. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

Montreal 11 April 1836

My Dear John, I received the money you sent Desjardin Is it on account of the receipt I sent or is it your further intention not to send me more – that is only sufficient for to pay my board are you not aware that since so long time that I have bought some clothes for this summer. An answer will be agreeable as soon as possible. It is very strange that you do not write.

I remain Yours truly J. McLoughlin

Enclosed are the following:

John Fraser Will you be so kind as to let me have a couple of Dollars or more if you can spare any, for I must take some in case I receive it – I have not a copper to pay my friend on board or to go in an hotel.

J. McLoughlin

Received Montreal 14 May 1835 from Mr. John Fraser before the present date the sum of Five pounds to be paid him on demand.

J. McLoughlin

Received on the same day ten pounds five shillings

J. McLoughlin

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[102] Addiscombe College, at Croydon, near London, served as military college for the East India company. On the abolition of the company it became the Royal Military College for the East Indian army, and was closed in 1862.

92. SISTER ST. HENRY TO JOHN FRASER

(Translated from the French original.)

QUEBEC the 11th of July 1836

MR. J. FRASER Merchant
Terrebonne

MY DEAR COUSIN Through my nephew, J. McLoughlin, I have received your letters of March 15th, as well as the one from my dear uncle, Your Father, please receive the assurance of my cordial gratitude the subject is distressing but it also proves your kindness and your judgment. I have delayed to answer you, wishing to see the decision which my Nephew would make, hoping that he would go to Rivière du Loup, It is now four days ago that he left for Montreal, in order to meet a Gentleman whom one thinks is called *McKenzie,*[103] who has been in the N. West service, this person is now in the Texan Army, he promised a commission to John. John would have liked to have the necessary funds to equip himself he only obtained £ 5. I flatter myself that you will have the kindness to make some inquiries of your poor and unfortunate cousins and to pass some news along to me. My good Mother who is old, invalid and is very much worried over the condition of this poor child. I think I wish to obtain the opinion of My Dear Uncle, Your Father, by answering through you his Excellent letter. I am very sorry for the grief which my Nephew has caused him, I greatly appreciate the solicitude of my dear Uncle, I hope that some day John will learn to acknowledge it by fashioning his behaviour in line with the lessons which he has received, his trip to France has done him harm.

Please pass along the affectionate wishes of my Mother, she does not wish to resign herself to leave this Life without seeing once again, her very dear Brother, she is as well as possible, I expect her visit, during the summer, your cousin St. Borgier was to make profession during November, I hope that your business will give you an occasion to pass through Quebec. Your letters, the good one says of you, make me wish to see you, as I cannot expect the hope that my Uncle would visit Quebec, please ask him to accept the respectful homage of all his Nieces, mine in particular. With the sincere good wishes of each one of your cousins for your prosperity and perfect happiness I am

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[103] John George McKenzie, half-breed son of "Emperor" Alexander McKenzie of the Athabasca, in Montreal, recruited the half-breed sons of Hudson's Bay Company officials for the army of "General" James Dickson, "Liberator of the Indian Nations." He figured prominently as "Secretary of State" and "Brigadier General" in the adventurer's visionary schemes. McKenzie, a sick man, returned from Sault St. Marie to Berthier, near Montreal, to spend the winter with his sister. He never recovered, and died in 1838.

your affectionate Cousin S.S. [Sister St.] Henry

ps. Miss Masson, is in good health, she has acquitted herself with very good grace of my uncle's errands.

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93. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

Sault St. Mary September 1st, 1836

My dear John, Since my last I encountered many interesting anecdotes. It would take to much [time] to write them. I can assure you that our expedition[104] does not move fast. We have had continuously contrary winds in crossing the lakes Erie and Huron, it took us at least one month, and we who expected to make it in fifteen days, on Lake Erie I was in command of one of our vessels, I was not entirely in the middle of the Lake, when the wind became so strong that I became afraid that my vessel could not stand it, because it was the first time it sailed. All this happened in the space of one hour. It is not by my courage and resourcefulness that I was able to save the life of my men. The water was entering my vessel by tons. I was able to beach it on the beach and to save all my men with my small boat (row boat) This done it was not all, the other vessel came later on to try to give us help it could not do it and my men remained without food, I took my small boat (row boat) to go and get them and it is only with much difficulty that I was able to reach the vessel. I took all that I needed and distributed it to them while they were eating their lunch. I loaded some personal effects in the small boat and went to deliver them to the vessel without any accident. Mr. McBean[105] went aboard with me and we spent all day loading the personal effects of my vessel on the one on which he was, we have lost nothing. For the devotion which I have shown as well as McBean, the commander[106] has given us the commission of Major in the cavalry. I am naturally satisfied with my rank as it increases my pay. We are very much liked by our general and by the other officers. I hope that your father is in good health as well as your mother give them my compliments (greetings) I will write them from the Red River. My regards to Mr. & Mrs. Balin and Boue's family.

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[104] In the middle of July 1836, John McLoughlin, Charles McBean, and Alexander Roderick McLeod, half-breed sons of two Chief Factors and a chief trader of the Honorable Company, joined the filibustering expedition of "General" James Dickson. The adventurer planned to cross the Great Lakes, liberate the Indians in the Red River settlement of the Hudson's Bay Company, raise an army of half-breeds, and march to Santa Fe. There his legions would turn west and set up an Indian empire in California, for which Dickson should be the ruler and his officers statesmen.

[105] Charles McBean, son of Chief Factor Charles McBean, went as far as the Red River settlements with the party. What happened to him later is unknown. John McLoughlin's letter from Norway House, July 29, 1838, seems to indicate that McBean intended to return to Montreal.

[Next part written across first page and practically illegible] Many best regards to your dear "Martin" and his wife please tell Mr. "Dumas" [name illegible] that I have had four holes in my overcoat about in the same place as in his overcoat for which I will not return now for a long time.

Cordially yours JOHN McLOUGHLIN – Major

P.S.S. Excuse this for it is written in haste

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94. SISTER ST. HENRY TO JOHN FRASER

(Translated from the French original)

QUEBEC, the 31st of September 1836

MY DEAR COUSIN: I have received your favor of the 13th instant for which I am greatly obliged to you, the promotion of my poor nephew is too soon to be of value. I pity the poor boy and I wish him all possible happiness.

Kindly present my sincere respect to your honorable father, my dear uncle, tell him that Emilie Déchêne, S. Borgia, will take her vows the 7th Proximo, she is the third of your cousins, Josephine Michaud, S.S. Cecile, took her vows last year. Two nieces still remain to me at the boarding school and you have two cousins, Eliza Déchêne and Angélique Michaud, behold how rich we are.

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[106] James Dickson's provenance has never been satisfactorily established. In the winter of 1835-36 his strange figure appeared in Washington society. He called himself General Dickson of the "Indian Liberating Army," and advertised for recruits to aid the cause of Texas. His distinguished appearance allayed suspicion. In the spring, when he was interesting young Canadians in the expedition, it became generally known that he proposed to go via the Great Lakes to the Red River settlement. The hardship of the journey and Governor Simpson's masterly defense of the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company contributed to the failure of the plan. In December, 1836, four months after the departure from Buffalo, Dickson and the remnants of his army straggled into the Red River settlement. The Hudson's Bay Company employees, following Simpson's strategy, refused to honor Dickson's drafts. By offering good positions, the Honorable Company absorbed some of Dickson's half-breed officers; the others dispersed. The "Liberator," a defeated, deserted, and deflated man, was stranded in Red River for the winter. He spent much time at White Horse Plains with Cuthbert Grant, the leader of the Métis. In the spring of 1837 the invasion ended in the fashion of an *opéra bouffe.* When starting south for Santa Fe, Dickson, in regimentals, made a laudatory speech, removed his epaulets, fastened them on Grant's shoulders, handed him his sword, mounted, and disappeared in the wilderness.

My good mother is as well as possible. She appreciates your kindnesses and wishes to assure your dear father of her love. Together with all your cousins, I am Your devoted, S. S. Henry, Depre.

Mr. J. Fraser Merchant
Terrebonne

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95. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

[La Pointe Lake Superior 11th Octr 1836]

My Dear John As this is perhaps the last time that I can be able to write you for a length of time so I profit of it. I wrote to you before leaving the Sault St Marie which I hope you have received long before this, stating what happened to me in crossing the Lakes, but in this you find more of hardship that I have gone [through] figure yourself in a common bateau with twenty men coasting a lake of 500 miles [107] long living on corn and pork (and not of the very best) exposed to cold this in only a pleasure trip I anticipate more yet which will be worst these men that I had was the worst of all those living under the face of Heaven I could not get them to work without hard treatment, I assure you that before I get to red river I shall break some of their bones, and I will do it with the greatest pleasure for they deserve it, they give me more trouble than they are worth. The weather is very severe too much so for the season. We have had some snow about two inches this did not please me. Since my departure I have enjoyed a very good health getting stronger every day. I forgot to mention in my last letter that you can write to me at Red River by the winter express . . . I wish you would write to my sister [108] and ask her if she has any letters to send and let her send them at the same place I have no time to write to her at present moment. I wish you would do me a favor that is to order at Boulanget an uniform of Cavalry for me for the Spring to send up by Mr Mackenzie and the Money will be send down early in the Spring by one of our party going down with dispatches the coat must be red worked with silver lace on the chest and collar with large silver epauletts and two pair of pantaloons one black and the other the same as those he already made for me, with gold lace on the sides. In fact just an English Life guard dress do not be afraid of the Expense. I shall pay it. I shall also send you all the money that I shall earn and you can place it as you think it proper. I understand that my Father will be down this fall in Montreal You must not forget to let me know whether it is the truth or not . . . Adieu once more may God preserve all

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[107] At Sault St. Marie, "General" James Dickson's army learned that the schooner, chartered at Buffalo, could go no further. An old bateau, boatmen, and scanty provisions were procured. Only twenty men of the original party suffered the arduous voyage of five hundred and forty miles to the upper end of Lake Superior by way of the southern shore; by the time the filibusterers had reached the Sault, desertion and sickness had reduced the party by two-thirds.

[108] Mrs. Eliza Eppes; "Major" John McLoughlin stayed with his sister's family at Quebec.

I am Your Cousin MAJOR J. MACLOUGHLIN

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96. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

FORT VANCOUVER 2nd Feby 1837

MY DEAR COUSIN I have the pleasure to Acknowledge the Receipt of your Esteemed favor of the 19th April last [1836] by which I am happy to see that you are well – and also to find from what you write as well as some of my correspondents that you are doing well – as you say the Retail Business does not afford a person a chance of Rapidly making a fortune neither does it expose him to Great Losses.– But if I was giving a Young man an Advise on entering the World – I would tell him not to give a thought about making a fortune – But to Exert every nerve to make himself as soon as possible – Independant to accomplish which, as Economy is always a certain Gain, he ought to Limit his Expenses to the Lowest possible scale – and when he had accomplished this object as his means increased – he might Extend his Business – I have not seen One who followed this plan but succeeded and I do not recollect one at this present time whose desire to make a Rapid fortune – led him on hazardous speculations beyond his means – But failed in his object and not only Ruined themselves but Injured others who had given them credit – a Man who has no family can Venture his all in a Speculation. But a man who has a family or he who Risks the property of others to make a fortune for himself evences a Want of feeling or of correct thinking to say the least of it [is] no way to be approved – But that is an Error in which – if you attend to your father's advise – I am certain you will not fall – as you say I see that Manufactures have risen a good deal in England – But our Business and Yours – is very different – as ours is merely Bartering our Goods with Indians for furs – and our only money transaction is in England where the

Furs are sold and the Goods purchased. The trade of the place extends from St Francisco in Latd 38 to Latitude 54 North and the Interior as Bounded by the Rocky Mountains – however By treaty it is open to the Americans – But there are very few in the Interior and on the Coast we only now and then see a vessel – though they have more Vessel in the Pacific Engaged on the whole perhaps than the English.

I am Dear John Your affectionate Cousin JOHN McLOUGHLIN

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97. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

FORT VANCOUVER 4th Feby 1837

MY DEAR SIR I have before me your Esteemed favour of the 19th April last and I presume I need not say that it is impossible for me to express how much I am Disappointed and Grieved at the account that you and others of my Correspondents give me of John. You say you do not know how he supported himself last Winter it appears Mr Moffatt paid him on my Account

8th Dec 1835	. . . .	£ 25.		
5th April 1836	paid J McL order to J Murphy .	14.	19.	3
13	" " " " Watson & Black	30.	12.	6
14	" " " " J Orr . .	9.	33	
27	" " " to purchase Hats & Boots	5.		
		£ 84.	14.	9

which is spending freely for a man who is Dependent on an other and is proof of his Want of pride and Respect for himself as certainly if he had any when such Excellent oppertunities have been afforded him and so much Money spent on his Education he would feel so much ashamed to find himself yet unable to earn his own livelihood and to be obliged to Depend for his support on the Labour of an other that he would not if possible shew himself before those who knew this Untill he had by his Exertions retrieved his character and would limit his Expenses to the lowest possible amount, to Mere Necessaries. But instead of this you see he is neglecting his studies and spending as much Money as he can get and descends to the Meanness of begging it from every one he thinks will let him have it. What Else is it that he is doing. Mr Moffatt let him have the sum he did on his pressing Entreaty as he was actually under Arrest when Mr Moffatt paid the Money and if I refused to Allow credit to Mr Moffatt for it how is John to pay. Is it not insulting me in the highest degree to presume to draw on me or even ask for money on my Account after neglecting to obey, and if he refuses to do this he must stand the consequence, and support himself. Gov. Simpson writes me John applied to him for a passage to this Country which he refused that he then asked to Enter the Service, which was also refused. Is he such a fool as to suppose that people will Engage a person in this Service who has shown so Untractable a Desposition as to Disagree with his Relations and Guardians When people Engage others they only Engage those who are anxious to do their Duty and desirous of giving satisfaction to all who have any control over them. But excuse my Warmth of Expression and Allow me to conclude this to me very painful subject As I am desirous to give him every fair chance. if as I wrote you last year he Conducts himself as a Gentleman and if he Endeavours to the Utmost to make up for his past misconduct by applying as Zealously as he possibly can to his Studies you will please Allow him any sum you think Necessary Under a hundred and fifty pounds Halifax pr Annum But if he acts improperly or will not apply to his Studies You will please not to Allow him one farthing on my Account since he will not do as I wish and he ought he must support himself. That he could for a moment suppose at his time of life after spending as much as I have on him that he will get one farthing from me. Unless he Earned it by his Good Conduct I consider as insulting to me does he think that I undergo privations to Earn Money for him to spend in the Way he seems determined to do But let me drop this and pray that God may of his Mercy lead him to see the Error of his ways and make him reform you disapprove of my sending David to France But the fact is that in 1833 My Brother wrote me "I have great pleasure in telling you that your Son has since my last letter given me Great satisfaction he has taken to his studies with an Ardor and with a tenacity which shows he is not acting under the spur of the Moment but from conviction and from a sincere desire to profit of the Advantages he has if his Zeal for Study continues and that he throws the Whole of his mental faculties into the scale he must succeed in distinguishing himself" with such accounts of John I could not hesitate to send his Brother last March David was at Edmonton nigh London. with Best Wishes Believe me to be

Your Affectionate Nephew JOHN MCLOUGHLIN

P S Please make my Compliments to the Honble Rod McKenzie and Mrs McKenzie John has had the impudence to write me – of course I do not write him he has applied to be Allowed to come to this Country. I have suffered enough of Mortification from the Reports I had of him. he shall not come to this Country. When I say impudence I do not mean to say it was impudent in him to write me no it was proper and Right for him to do so and to do this in a proper way – to shew that he sees his Error and will reform instead of this he complains he could not get Money. A man to say so who spends £ 84 from Dec to April (and rather than starve in Canada requests I would allow him to come to this Country) But not a word of Regret for the pain his Misconduct must give he writes that he wishes to Discontinue his Studies on Account he says of the large sum it will cost to enable him to take his Diploma while he tells Mr. Moffatt (as the latter wrote me) that he will prepare to pass at Quebec in August. What can be more Disgraceful than such Deceitful conduct and to shew you the little spirit he has on reference to Gov Simpsons letters that on seeing he could not get a passage to come to this Country nor be taken in the service he offered to come up as a Common Engagee. I wrote Mr Moffatt not to pay one farthing for John Unless he has an order from you and I must repeat that though I have set apart a hundred and fifty pounds pr Annum to Educate him still his conduct has been such that you will please to act as you have hitherto done and not give him one farthing more than you consider absolutely Necessary and that his conduct deserves he must have no pocket Money he complained to Gov Simpson of the Want of Pocket Money if he had acted as he ought he would before this have been living on his own Earnings in a most Respectfull way as no Young Man from this Country had so Advantageous an Opportunity to provide for himself. When he has past his Examination You will give him what you think Necessary and let him shift for himself. If he had behaved Well and had passed his Examination I could have got him a situation of 150 £ pr Annum. But his being Unqualified and his Misconduct put it out of my power. In a postscript to his letter of 21st Nov 1835 to Mr Epps he says he will go to Montreal to *resume his studies if a hundred and fifty pounds are given him.* What an Impudent demand What little Desire does this shew to qualify himself to earn his livelihood as a Gentleman if I had been in Canada when he made this most impudent demand I should have sent him at once about his Business and cast him off for ever as certainly after the Manner he has acted with my Brother if he had the least sense or feeling he would feel too sensitive of the Great Favour Great Charity done him in giving him an opportunity of reestablishing himself in the World that he would receive all that is done for him with the humility and Gratitude which such Unmerited Kindness and Indulgence deserve, and I cannot conclude this without assuring you that I duly feel for the manner in which you have been treated by a person whom you had treated so Affectionately and still do I feel it more severely as all this trouble was brought on from your desire to do good to others and to benefit me

J McL

N B . . . You Disapprove of my having sent David to Paris. I did so in consequence of the fine Accounts my Brother gave me of Johns progress . . . Receiving such Accounts I was Induced to send David who I Expected would not only have the benefit of his Uncles protection but that also of his Brothers care how cruelly have I been Disappointed. How different was My Brothers Letter of 1834 and those received in 1835 are still worse. If you had Expressed the least desire for Davids remaining in Canada Mr Finlayson would have left him as he supposed after seeing the letters my Brother wrote me in 1833 in praise of John that My Brothers Marriage was the cause of Johns coming to Canada. But I cannot but say that instead of sending John to Canada, since my Brother had assumed the Charge of him, on finding he was going Wrong he should have sent him to the Country till he had Received my answer and since My Brother sent him away in the Manner he did I am convinced that John must have given him I am Grieved to say Ample cause

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98. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

FORT VANCOUVER 8th Feby 1837

MY DEAR SIR I sent you a separate copy of my letter that in case you consider it necessary as I do not write him and will now only observe that if a hundred and fifty pounds is found too little and that his conduct and that his conduct deserves it you will please allow him what is necessary. I Expect you will not fail to send me my Brother's Answer to the note I sent through you about the Hundred pounds.

As I am most Anxious to see how that mistake originated – I have not sent his account as I left it at Norway house in 1824. But whether it was Destroyed in 1825 when that Establishment was Burned or not I cannot say till I go out – till I Examine the property – I left there as soon as it was Burned and I must again repeat that David never accounted to me or paid me one fathing for you.– I have great pleasure in Learning from several of my Correspondents that my Cousin John is coming on so well – however there can be no Danger to him if he Adheres to your Advise – I am My Dear Uncle Your affectionate Nephew JNO McLOUGHLIN

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99. JOHN FRASER TO DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN

TERREBONNE 13 April 1837

MY DEAR SIR I was in due time favored with yours from Fort vancouver 14 February 1836 and I am extremely sorry to find your sons conduct would have proved as to be quite disapproved of. I leave others to discuss the same and wish that their construction of it shall be such as to give you the satisfaction you so richly deserve. I will only mention what I have done for him, and what I am still exerting myself to effect. You will learn from all quarters that your Son John left Montreal last July, to join one named Dixon, whom he qualified the title of General Dixon. He, this individual had collected Twenty Young Men in the United States along with five from this Province all born in the Hudson Bay's Company territories to proceed and meet him at Waterloo U.S.[109] on 1st Augt & from thence to proceed to Santa Fee Mexico by the way of Lake Superior and continue their Expedition inland, engaging the Natives to join as they went along, and endeavour to take St Fee by surprise. this was their plan, but to execute the same was not as readily done, they all there fore reached Waterloo on the appointed Day, and there bought a schooner, to begin their glorious campaign, they then set sail on the Lake to reach their destination, they had not however gone far, before their means of support, seems to have been quite exhausted as they landed on Huron Island where they killed three oxen, and embarked them to furnish their store without either leave or consent of the proprietor who immediately sought protection from the neighbouring authorities, who ordered the Sheriff to pursue them at once with a Steam Boat, and he caught them just at the entrance of [illegible] River, they were of course put into custody untill they had repaired the damage done and were afterwards allowed to continue their expedition [110] How far they have gone, and what they have done is more than I can say or venture to imagine I leave the whole to your superior Judement

As John went up last Summer he wrote me five letters the last of which is from Lapointe Lake Superior 11th Octbr 1836 [111] . . . he says, "for the exertions I have made, the Commander has given me the Commission of Major in the Cavalry, I am extremely satisfied with my promotion, as it increases my pay." I must here remark that the General is a self created one, and he may from his own authority appoint them all Colonels, Generals, Vice Roy, if he thought proper, but from whence shall they be paid, and where is their regiment? they will be paid when they have taken Santa Fee, and their army will consist of Indians, if they wish to raise themselves against the Americans.

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[109] Waterloo, Seneca County, New York. After chartering a schooner, James Dickson and his army set sail from Buffalo on August 1, 1836.

[110] Just beyond Detroit, near Black River, about midnight on August 20, Dickson's schooner was overtaken by the steamboat "Gratiot." The sheriff of Detroit, with a posse, charged members of the army with stealing three head of cattle on an island below Detroit. The vessel was towed into Black River to await trial. But with the aid of Brigadier General John McNeil, Jr. (1784-1850), a retired United States officer who had met Dickson in Washington, one hundred and fifty dollars were paid and the schooner was allowed to proceed.

[111] Dickson's army reached La Pointe on October 11, 1836.

From so feeble a prospect, I have written several times to your esteemed sister St Henry, who has addressed John requesting him earnestly to desist from his foolish expectations and continue his way to join [you,] which I sincerely hope he do. I also write him myself the same thing exposing him my best reasons, or to persuade him to join you without loss of time, assuring this as his best plan, and feeling confident that you are the better able to direct his future happiness from your experience and means, than he can do for himself.

I percieve by your last [letter] the desire you express in wishing to be informed on the reasons of my departure from Messrs P. McGill & Co.[112] I had not given them to you because I had no desire to expose them for their own sake, in the first place I entered in their employ without any agreement whatever, they only mentioned that the first year I was to toil for them gratis, in the succeeding years I was to be allowed what they thought I was able to earn to which proposition my Father immediately acquiesced. I therefore remained there three years without any further explanation but at the expiration of the third year being naturally desirous of knowing the allowance I would have I desired them to enter something to my credit for my own satisfaction *(not having drawn a single penny)* they therefore placed an entry in their Books allowing me 25 pounds for the first years 35 pounds for the third (the first being gratis) when I was then paying 40 pounds for board alone – I immediately communicated my desire to discontinue to remain under such conditions and expressed a wish to leave them – On Mr. McGill [113] hearing of my desire he offered me 100 pounds a year if I would remain, which clearly shows that I had been wronged of the difference.

I only replied that my Father's wish was to see me return home, and I could not accept his offer although exceedingly obliged to him for it.– Seeing I was not to remain and he could not keep me there being no agreement he requested as a favor I would close a few consignment accounts I had had in my hands which I did and on leaving him he drew out a check for 100 pounds altho he had marked only 60 pounds to my credit as he felt convinced he [had] certainly allowed me too little.

I have since my return here been engaged in a retail store consisting for nearly two years of only Two hundred Pounds Capital and for about the last six months has been encreased to Six Hundred – I have on the first Instant drawn out my yearly Balance by which I find the sum of Six Hundred Pounds profit greatest part being credits, I may not realize the whole but I hope at least to recover the sum of 500 pounds and I have also acquired experience for certainly more than this amount off which I shall draw the benefit in [the] future. I am constantly exerting myself to the utmost to encrease in all ways and manners and I hope that next year I shall be able [to] communicate something much more advantageous.

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[112] The Montreal firm of Peter McGill & Co.

[113] Peter McGill (1789-1860).

My father is writing you and will also inform you of the same thing.–

My best respects to all your Family and if any of the young ones will favor me with a line I will correspond with the greatest pleasure – Wishing you all prospects in your undertaking

I remain My Dear Cousin Yours very truly JOHN FRASER

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100. JOHN FRASER TO JOHN McLOUGHLIN

TERREBONNE 16th April 1837

JOHN McLOUGHLIN

MY DEAR COUSIN – Your several letters from Kingston 20 July – Toronto 21 July, Waterloo 27 July, Saultt St. Mary 1st Sept 1836 & Laporte Lake Superior 11 Oct 1836 were all received by the regular course of the mail, and according to your desire I communicated their contents to your Grand Mother, your sister your Aunt and David Michaud off which you may easily imagine they were much grieved – the news of your campaign were witheld from your sister seeing the feeble state of health she was in at the time, which might have occasioned the most fatal consequences – the whole of them were exceedingly sorry to find you had met with such hard fate, at even the very beginning of the expedition, when they all knew it could never yield any advantage and is impossible you will realize any profit.

You may at once percieve that a man [such] as your Dixon, who is a self created General without either sufficient money or influence, a man without any principles, as he well denoted by your landing on the Island Huron to commit plunder – A man who allowed his crew to rob and steal without either right or pretention to it, why such a man ought to have been hung on the spot, he must be a worthless villan and no doubt he is from his proceedings – such a man is certainly not fit for ones companion, and moreover the less so to be *General* – it is considered by all here a most degraded expedition – the risk of your life is nothing, my dear fellow, look to your honor, is it honorable for you or anyone to follow a degraded vagabond one whom the world abhors and despises [114]– Your only means of washing your hands of the guilt he wishes to imprint upon you is to leave him at once, abandon him to his fate, let him seek his fate wherever he pleases but do not participate in his plunders – go and join your Honorable Father who waits anxiously for his lost son, go and return to him, he will receive you with his arms open, he will soothe the pain and suffering you are feeling, he will restore you to yourself and make a new man of you – I write him that I expect you will join him, he therefore waits for you anxiously – Your father writes the same thing your aunt St. Henry has already done it and everyone here thinks that you have had sufficient time to reflect so as to join your father instantly – I entreat you my Dear John once more. Do not defer one single moment from proceeding to Columbia, it is the best advice you can receive, my Father wishes me to mention most particularly that it is his most earnest wish and [that of] all your friends here – do leave your degraded General – you see well that he has not given you what he promised – what pay have you received? where is your money – that money you were to send me. Where are your men? Well I assure you shall never – have more and will be exposed to much greater danger than you have been hitherto without the least hope of any remuneration whatever.

[John Fraser] [115]

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101. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

Norway House [116] 8 Aug 1837

My dear John I can not leave this place without writing you a few lines to let you know where I am going that you may hereafter write me – Since I last wrote you I have met with many hardships in the way of travelling and starvation – The whole winter I did not sleep in a house always travelled and still I am not at the end of my journey – I have engaged to the Honble Hudson Bay Co. and now I am on my way to my winter quarter and that is to Fort Vancouver. Allow me to relate [to] you what happened to me since I last wrote. It was from the Pointe in Lake Superior – after leaving that place we were nearly lost and had it not been for Mr. McBean and myself – our crew even so alarmed that they could not move to save themselves – we were some distance out in the lake and of a sudden came a storm which was washing in our boat – the weather at the time being very cold that as soon as the Water came in it was mostly frozen before we had time to bail it out – after a great deal of trouble we succeeded in making a Bay even [then] we were obliged to stop for some days – at least after a great deal of trouble we go thro the Lake – we went on very well as far as Sandy Lake [117] even McBean and myself were kindly received by Mr. Allen Morrison [118] (mind you at this time we did not belong to the party with whom we started – we were travelling at our [own] expense but the rest accompanied us). Mr. Morrison gave us a Canoe and provisions and we again started for Lake Winipeg [119] a journey of ten days good travelling – the fall was at this time rapidly setting in – In the Mississippi River we were taken by the Ice – and we were obliged to abandon our Canoe and walk the remaining part to the American fort [120] at Lake Winnipeg – the people at this place sent for our articles which we had left – we remained at this place eight days. Here we hired dogs to take our trunks as far as Red Lake and what the poor animals could not take we carried it on our back a la facon des voyageurs – on the eight day we arrived at the fort desired [121] and we were then a fortnight march from Red River settlement – we rested a couple of days at this place that we might find a couple of Indians to guide us – after getting two guides we started for the plains and on the sixth day the Indians deserted and then we were left in rather an unpleasant situation after having consulted ourselves which was the best to do Mr. Bean and myself decided to return to the fort which we had left and the rest were to continue their route – we arrived before the Indians and on their arrival they were quite surprised to see us.– after questions what was their reason for doing so they said quite coolly[?] that they were afraid of their enemies – all this was nothing but a falsehood – We got two more and went only a day's march and turned back – we were again obliged to return – we remained a month at the fort before we could get two others which promised to take us – which certainly kept their promise – but they had one grand fault that is to eat after we went to sleep and on this account we ran short of provisions – we lived on what we could kill and that was very little, a rabbit [a] day was our allowance and on that we were to walk. I assure you it was not much for a poor traveller – we were to go two days and sometimes more without tasting a single morsel. I was very glad when I arrived at Red River. I was not there long before I got a letter from Gov. Simpson informing me that he had a place for me if I wanted to accept of it. Situated as I was I immediately entered in office and since then I had the pleasure of seeing him – By the Bye I think Mr. McBean will pay you a visit this fall – he is on his way to Montreal – [he] can inform you better verbally for I only [torn] things – When you write have the goodness to give me all the news you can possibly and how you are getting on with your business – I understood that you were to get married last fall to Miss Dumas is it true yes or not – Remember me kindly to her and to Mr. & Mrs. Rubis and Mr. & Mrs. R. Mackenzie – I cannot write a longer letter in consequence of the Guide informing me that they are waiting for me to start. Give my best compliments to your Mother and my best regards and respects to your father and tell him that I shall write to him at the next port I come to – do not forget to say all that is kind to my friends.

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[114] One fact which John Fraser and his relatives overlooked is that Dickson's desperados formed an organized army, at least in the eyes of its leader. A little book, *Articles of War and of the Government of the Army of the Liberator,* and a list of signatures of the officers and privates to these articles show how seriously Dickson took the enterprise. The following ranks are listed: major of artillery, five captains of artillery, a captain in the Liberator's regiment of "Life Guards," several lieutenants, two ensigns, a commissary, and an assistant commissary.

[115] Complimentary closing and signature are missing. Undoubtedly, the letter was originally signed by John Fraser.

[116] Norway House, the distributing center of the Hudson's Bay Company "at the outlet of Lake Winnipeg," played a vital role in the communications both between Montreal and the West and between York Factory on Hudson Bay and the western posts.

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[117] John McLoughlin's party took the route to the Mississippi via the St. Louis River, the East and West Savanna Rivers, and Sandy Lake. This was the usual way of reaching the upper waters of the Mississippi from the Great Lakes.

[118] Allan Morrison, younger brother of William Morrison who claimed to be the first white man to have visited Lake Itasca – the sources of the Mississippi River – came to the Northwest about 1820 and gained importance in the fur trade. His brother built the original fort at Sandy Lake.

[119] Lake Winnibagogish.

[120] Augustin Bélanger's post of the American Fur Company on Lake Winnibagogish.

[121] John H. Fairbank's post of the American Fur Company on Red Lake.

I remain Yours etc JOHN MACLOUGHLIN

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102. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

NORWAY HOUSE [29th July 1838] En Route

MY DEAR JOHN I acknowledge the receipt of your letter and in reply allow me to thank you for the information it contains and the feelings you show me in it. I perfectly agree with you that it did me no credit for having left Montreal, the more I think on the subject the more I see my folly.

When last I wrote you I mentioned that I was going to winter at Fort Vancouver so I did, and came out this spring with my Father. It is no joke to cross the Mountains in the Spring Snow eleven [feet] deep. I think if the Snow was as deep in Canada at that season some of the folks would open their eyes.

By the Bye I am sorry to learn the disturbance that has taken place in

Canada[122] I wish in your next you would give me all the necessary information on the subject for I am very anxious to know all its particulars. I hope you have seen Mr. McBean last fall and that he gave you all the news of Red River Settlement – he had spent the whole winter there. My dear John I cannot write you a long letter at the present moment for there is a scarcity of paper but will write you again by the fall canoes. Remember me kindly to your Father and Mother and to Mr and Mrs Ruby in fact to every acquaintance.

Believe Me to be Your Cousin JOHN McLOUGHLIN

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103. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO ELISABETH FRASER[123]

MONTREAL August 12, 1838

MY DEAR BETSEY: I have written to your Brother to come/ as he will not be in time to come with me/ and see our uncle Dr. Fraser and to bring you with him which I hope you will do as you may depend he will receive your with kindness and do all he can for you as though [although] your father and uncle were on bad terms – you ought not to be a party in such differences between your father and uncle[124]– adieu my dear cousin – and that God may bless you is the prayer of your affectionate cousin

JOHN McLOUGHLIN

MISS ELISABETH FRASER

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[122] The Rebellion of 1837-38 led in Lower Canada, in the first half of November, 1837, to a number of disturbances in Montreal. The clashes between loyalists or "constitutionalists" and *patriotes* brought the rebellion to a head, when a small force of loyalist cavalry encountered a party of armed habitants on the road between Montreal and St. Johns. After affairs at St. Denis and St. Charles, more trouble had been brewing in the northwest of Montreal, at the village of St. Eustache, in the vicinity of Terrebonne where John's relatives lived. On December 14, Sir John Colborne, Commander in Chief of the forces in Canada, led an expedition that carried the village by storm. With the defeat of the rebels at St. Eustache, the uprising was virtually at an end in Lower Canada.

[123] See illustration, Plate 8 (page 266).

[124] Alexander Fraser, Elisabeth's father, and Dr. Simon Fraser, her uncle, had severed their relationship almost twenty years earlier, over a dispute about ways to finance Dr. David McLoughlin's medical studies at the University of Edinburgh. Elisabeth later became the wife of her cousin, John Fraser, a son of Dr. Simon Fraser, thus creating a very awkward family problem between Dr. Simon and Alexander.

104. DAVID McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

Norway House 11th July 1839

My Dear Uncle It appears to me but yesterday that I saw you the time seems to pass by remarkable quick. It pained me to see you and your son leaving Mr Lestee's house because I thought thus it was the last moment I shall ever have the pleasure of seeing you

I was very comfortable during the voyage except when we first left Montreal on account the weather being very cold I arrived here just in time to bid My Father and Brother John a good day for they were on the point of starting in light Canoes for York Factory therefore I am not able to tell you how My Brother is getting on. The Gentlemen of Hudson's Bay Company and clerks have formed a new Company among themselves independent of the fur Company which goes under the name of Pugets Sound Agricultural Company[125] they have raised a subscription of 200,000 £ this summer for the purpose of beginning the affair and My Father is appointed to manage the business in the Country which he is to do besides superintending the Hudson's Bay Company affairs in the Columbia I have taken a share of 100 £ in it remember me to those I knew while at Terrebonne Hoping that when you receive this letter you will be in good health I am

Your Truly David McLoughlin

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[125] In February, 1839, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company concluded an agreement about their trading operations and territories on the Northwest Coast. The Hudson's Bay Company secured a ten-year lease of the narrow strip of Russian territory that edged the mainland from the Portland Canal to Mount Fairweather, a distance of about three hundred and fifty miles. In return the Hudson's Bay Company undertook, amongst other things, to supply the Russian American Company with agricultural products. To ensure the production of the required supplies the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company was organized to take over certain of the Hudson's Bay Company farms and to develop others. On February 27, 1839, Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin was appointed to superintend the new project.

105. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO DR. SIMON FRASER

Fort Vancouver 24th Feby 1840

My Dear Sir I have the pleasure to inform you that I safely arrived at my old quarters on the 17th Oct last and I much regret that my Business would not allow me in my Visit to the Civilised World to spend a longer time in the Society of my Relations and nothing but its pressing nature could have made me submit to it.

I think I sent you from New York a Copy of Parkers travels [126] in this Country by which you will see that his object was to select places for to place Missionaries and accordingly a large Band came across in 1838 [127] and are dispersed among the Natives Instructing them in Religion teaching them to Read and Write and to Cultivate the Ground, for which this Country affords them Greater facilities than on the other side as these Indians live in Villages and Spirituous Liquors have not been introduced among them. At present their are Methodist and Presbyterians from the States and R[oman] C[atholics] from Canada My Compliments to the Honble Rod McKenzie and Mrs McKenzie I am My Dear Sir

Your Affectionate Nephew John McLoughlin

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106. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

Fort Vancouver 15th March 1840

My Dear John As this is the usual time that our express leaves this for the east side of the Mountains I cannot allow it to go without resuming my habit of writing although I am not one of the best letter writers still I can manage enough to let you know that I am still amongst the living of this country but to tell you the truth I was nigh going last spring but through good attendance I came round again. I will not have the pleasure of going across with the express this year as I have done since two years as

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[126] Samuel Parker, *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains, under the Direction of the A*[merican]. *B*[oard]. [of] *C*[ommissioners]. [for] *F*[oreign]. *M*[issions]. *Performed in the Years 1835, '36, and '37; Containing a Description of the Geography, Geology, Climate, and Customs of the Natives. With a Map of the Oregon Territory* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1838). Reverend Parker spent the winter of 1835-36 at Fort Vancouver.

[127] Elkanah Walker, Cushing Eells, Asa B. Smith, and their wives, missionaries of the Congregational Church, in 1838, came to Oregon, following the first missionary party sent by the American Board two years earlier – Dr. Marcus Whitman and Henry Harmon Spalding.

I am ordered to go off in a few days to the coast to establish another fort,[128] now you see my dear John that I am going farther this year than ever and the only thing left us is writing I hope that you will avail yourself of every opportunity to let me know how you are, as well as your good old Father For my part I can only write once in two years and then I will not be sure of even that time it will reach you. . .

Our neighbours the Americans are doing their utmost to get their government to take possession of this country in fact I do not know what right they have to reclaim it and I hope that Great Britain will never consent to part with such a prosperous country. In point of commercial views there is no country equal to it. the navigable waters of the Columbia abound in timber of all descriptions and the River itself is inexhaustible in Salmon. they have petitioned the Congress to send them a civil administrator and protection of its army.[129] I do not know whether their petition will be attended to time will only tell. Last summer we had a visit from an English Surveying Squadron [130] here they surveyed the River and the principal harbours on the Coast it was a gay time for those who were present here, but I had not that pleasure For I was then travelling on horseback to red River annoyed by swarms of mus-quitos for all that I never yet had such a pleasant journey it is worth any ones trouble who is fond of seeing beautiful sceneries

I do not believe that there is an office in Montreal that has so much to do as ours. We are in it from ½ past 6 in the morning till nine at night. I have learned more in the way of transacting business here than I should have done in Montreal in the same space of time. If you were to see our establishment you would be highly delighted with it. . .

Remember me kindly to your good father and to all those who will enquire after me.

I am Your Cousin JOHN McLOUGHLIN Junr

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[128] On June 1, 1840, Fort Stikine in Russian territory came under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company. The post was placed in charge of William Glen Rae (1809-1845), who had married a daughter of Chief Factor John McLoughlin in 1838. John McLoughlin was assigned to Stikine as Rae's assistant.

[129] The petition, written by Thomas Jefferson Farnham (1804-1848), traveler and writer, and signed by American settlers, called for federal protection. It was presented to Congress on June 4, 1840.

[130] The exploring expedition of Sir Edward Belcher (1799-1877). The result of the survey was published as *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World, Performed in Her Majesty's Ship Sulphur, during the Years 1836-1842, Including Details of the Naval Operations in China, from Dec. 1840, to Nov. 1841,* 2 vols. (London, 1843).

107. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

FORT VANCOUVER 24th Oct 1840

MY DEAR JOHN Though certainly I have nothing particular to inform you still in justice to my feelings I could not let this opportunity pass (which only occurs once a year) and not drop you a few Lines. Merely to assure you that I am well and that I sincerely hope that you are not only Well but that you are also doing Well I arrived here on the 17th Oct and had the pleasure to find my family Well and much Gratified at finding I brought back David with me who has been ever since his arrival Employed in our office as is also John and I must say that they are as attentive and smart at their work as most young men and this is merely from being as young men ought to be Kept Employed As certainly most Young Men are ruined by not being Kept Busy as Idleness is the Root of all evils With Best Wishes For your Wellfare I am My Dear John

Your Affectionate Cousin JOHN McLOUGHLIN

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108. DAVID McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

FORT VANCOUVER 7th April 1843 [1842] [131]

MY DEAR SIR The usual time is at last arrived to favor me with the pleasure of acknowledging your letter, which came to hand on the 30th Octr, and it gave me great satisfaction to learn that you and your Father are well, and the business in which you are engaged promises a fruitful and empty [?] returns for the zeal and attention which you bestowed on it in promoting the interest of your purse and the Keen eye with which you must have watched its weakest parts and which I am happy to observe has been the means of your being so successful in your operations and established your name as a lucky Merchant although young yet, by perseverance you have succeeded to attend to that standard in Society which you now have the pleasure to occupy. I have a clear recollection of Terrebonne the beautiful streets and walks about the town and often when in solitude I brood over the past with feelings of the deepest regret that I should have come to this Country without any prospect of seeing Canada again John often spoke of it and told us many tricks he played which I need not relate as they are well known to you he is now on the North West Coa[s]t near the Russian establishments, I believe he is well satisfied with his situation being far away from the old Gentleman and near to the Russian who are full of game. and he being master of a post, consitudes [constitutes] his glory he is very comfortable I hear from him once a year An American Squadron arrived here last year from the Islands and lost one of their ships the Peacock [132] on the north spit but saved all hands all the collection they had made was lost, the old Gentlemen is going round to California Woohoo [Oahu] [133] and different other places and we are daily expecting him Settlements are rising on all parts of the Country and the population are increasing fast We have not Snow here in the winter but plenty of rain the weather is generally mild I have a beautiful horse and I value him much. I had a Newfloundland dog but poor animal had the misfortune to return to his former state of inanimate dust, what a fine and faithful dog he was I regreted his death very much however I still feel as happy now, when I am mounted on my horse with my Rifle; my pistols on each side of my saddle and well belted and a bear 300 year [yards] off as when I used to set by a parler window and listened to a Military Band playing. Give my best respects to your farther and Mother

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[131] Obviously the date was meant to read 1842, since David's brother John was murdered at Fort Stikine in the night of April 20/21, 1842.

I am Your ever truly Cousin David McLoughlin
Private Mr. John Fraser
Terrebonne Canada

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109. DAVID McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

Fort Vancouver 19th March 1843

My Dear Cousin Your kind Epistle came to hand last fall and I am happy to learn that you are getting on so well both in your public & private life. It is with the greatest pain that I am under the necessity to relate the circumstance which led to the dreadful calamity which has befallen us by the murder of My Brother John he was shot on the night of the 20/21 April in his own Fort & by his own men. John was in Charge of a Post on the Coast within the Russian Territories consisting of 22 men Sir G Simpson on passing there last fall took his assistant[134] from him to replace one that was going away from the adjoining Post and left John with a common man and a Boy as seconds to Manage the men and conduct the operations of the place; having regular watches set night and day, to watch the natives who are daily in search by some way or other to execute their vicious intentions of destroying the establishment or murdering the men yes I may say he was left alone in that solitary Post, surrounded on every side by dreary Mountains having its tops covered by perpetual snow and drowning its inhabitants by unceasing rains who would fain to live in such a dungeon like Country its Gloomy aspect would chill, even the breast of a most determined man Yet there it is & in that Situation My Brother was without a proper assistant given him on whom he might rely on his fidelity to battle against these sanguinary Villians and to guard themselves & property against the hostile intentions of the Natives I am bewildered how this affair will be brought to a proper conclusion as Sir G Simpson is such a dunce as to have formed his opinion on the reports of the Murderers who were pleading to alleviation than truth yet there it is on the words of these Villians he published his reports without consideration without a doubt these wretches have told him the truth and poor John was shot as a means of self preservation they not being satisfied with the tendency of these aspersions still they descend farther from the standard of man by turning Calumny to truth to strengthen their vile intentions of fabricating the memory of the deceased Cowardly wretch not being satisfied with the ball going through poor John by his treacherous act still proceeds further by running up to his Victim and placing his foot on his neck whilst struglling in the agonies of death to hasten his end they have endeavoured to make it appear that he was always drunk and on these occasions he would be very violent beating &c The Wine which was sent to him, allowance for the year was found almost complete his accounts well kept up and his journal brought up to the day before he was Murdered and the letters he wrote to Mr Work[135] bitterly complains of the two assistants that Sir George left him and says that he would leave the service unless they send him better assistants than the two he had Sir G Simpson arrived there five days after this fatal act was committed on his way to England. when he first went there and on his return here to go to California he praised John as an active and industrious Young man having his Fort in better order than any other person in the Coast a few Months after arrives there again find him no more Murdered by his men yet after what he has seen on a former occasion desides with these Villians. There is a Mystery in this affair and I am afraid there will be some difficulty to find the truth of this atrocious Murder.

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[132] The U.S.S. "Peacock," a unit of the first official Columbia River survey squadron, under command of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, on July 18, 1841, was wrecked at Peacock Spit, the sand and shallow water area directly attached to Cape Disappointment, at the mouth of the Columbia.

[133] In the latter part of February, 1842, in Honolulu, Dr. John McLoughlin met Governor George Simpson for a last-minute conference about hotly disputed policy questions before Simpson continued his trip around the world.

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[134] In September, 1841, Governor George Simpson, during his tour of the Northwest Coast, felt it necessary to transfer John McLoughlin's congenial and competent assistant, Roderick Finlayson, to Fort Simpson, to replace a retiring clerk.

[135] John Work (1792-1861), in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company since 1814, chief trader at Fort Simpson, was John McLoughlin's immediate superior.

Poor John he had a great deal of trouble the short time he was in this world, & if he had remained in Canada this would never have happened He is such a determined man and I am partly convinced it has been the means of his untimely end. our people here are such beasts they take every advantage of insulting their Masters especially when there is a favorable opportunity. I am now alone with my Father and Mother My Sister[136] is in California with her husband, we are daily looking for her return You must excuse me for this letter I am so hurried to write it the express being off a few days ago for Canada hope to hear from you I am

Yours ever truly DAVID McLOUGHLIN

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110. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

VANCOUVER 12th April 1843

MY DEAR SIR I presume that before this reaches you you will have heard of the Murder of my Son John on the night of 19/20 April last at one of our Establishments on the West Coast of which he had Charge

In Oct 1841 in passing there Sir George Simpson saw Every Thing in such high Order, Every thing so Well Arranged that he was Induced to accommodate an other Officer who wished to come here on account of his health to take my Sons assistant to replace this officer and leave my Son the only Officer at the place Where there is the most Danger on the N W Coast, and which Sir George Simpson would not have done so if my deceased sons Good Conduct had not given us the Utmost confidence in his abilities. But among the men belonging to the place there were three men of very Bad Characters who formed a plot to murder him. It seems my deceased

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[136] Eloisa, whose husband, William Glen Rae, from May, 1841, to January, 1845, was in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company San Francisco business at Yerba Buena.

Son found it out and found one of them that night lurking about his Door with his Gun whom he took, and put in confinement and as he was in search of the two others one of them shot him in the Breast as he was turning the Corner of a house, My son fell and while writhing in the Agonies of death his murderer rushed on him and put his foot on his neck. My poor Son brought on his death by his own Rashness as after he put one of them in prison if he had temporised for five Days Sir George Simpson would have been with him [137] Indeed at the time he was in Momentary Expectation of Sir George Simpsons arrival to whom the men Made Believe that my deceased Son was Given to Liquor and that when in that state he Used to Beat the Men most Unmercifully as if one man could ill use when Intoxicated twenty two men (the number at the place) so much as to make them murder him when if he was as they said they could have tied him Especially as they were in Momentary Expectation of the Arrival of a Superior Officer and the ill treatment of which they speak was punishment he found it necessary to inflict to make them do their duty (as we found out after Sir George left) and to make them do their Duty and they did not get so much as they deserved – they told Sir George that the night of the Murder the deceased gave them liquor. It is now found that it was the man whom the Deceased Employed as an assistant (temporary till I sent him one from here) who gave them the Rum that he stole pure Spirits from the Store and gave to Every Canadian and Iroquois in the place (of which there were Eleven and Eleven Sandwich Islanders) one Bottle of pure Spirits Each and which was only discovered by the confession of the one who assisted him to do so, and of which my deceased Son might not have been in the least aware as there used to be so much Liquor sold to the Indians at that place that the men used to get it from them and get drunk in consequence of which my son had to punish Several and to keep them all in the fort and prevent them from going to the Lodges. The Canadians and Iroquois are in confinement and Will remain so till I hear from London where a whole detail of the case is forwarded as though they are British Subjects the Deed was perpetrated on Russian Territory at a place we lease from the Russians

My Compliments to my Uncle and Mr and Mrs McKenzie And Believe me to Be

Your Affectionate Cousin JOHN McLOUGHLIN

P.S. In consequence of this unfortunate affair We have been able to make an arrangement with the Russians by which no liquor is issued to Indians in that quarter and consequently no liquor is issued to Indians by the Hudsons Bay Company as before this I had stopped it at all our establishments on this side of the Mountains J McL

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[137] Sir George Simpson paid his second visit to Fort Stikine on April 25, 1842, and learned that on the night of April 20/21 young McLoughlin had been shot, probably by Urbain Heroux, one of his own men.

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111. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

VANCOUVER 17th Feb 1844

MY DEAR JOHN I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of 20th April by which I was happy to hear of your marriage with Elizabeth[138] our Cousin I have every confedence she will make you a good Wife present her my Respect and tell her I devoutly pray God may Bless you

I am happy to find that your affairs are coming on so Well and of which I have not the least [doubt] if you follow the advice of your Worthy father

The report you had of the Murder of my Son John is unfortunately too true he was Murdered on the night of 20 April 1842 from seeing every thing about the place in the highest order Sir George Simpson was Induced to take Johns assistant (John had charge of the place) to place at another place on that Day or rather evening John allowed the men to Dance in the Fort and Gave them a little Liquor. But the person who acted for the moment as assistant and the Steward stole a quantity of Liquor which they gave to the men which made them Drunk, particularly the Steward who being noisy the deceased ordered to be tied, in doing which the deceased assisted but this making the fellow abusive The man who shot the Deceased made a remark which Irritated the Deceased he struck him when the fellow ran away calling out aux armes, aux armes The Deceased went for his Riffle and as he was in search of the fellow he shot the Deceased from behind a corner the Deceased was about four feet from the muzzle of the Gun and was shot in the Breast he fell and his Murderer rushed from his lurking place and put his foot on his throat while he was writhing in the agonies of Death and finished him by beating in his head with his riffle The Murderer is sent to Sitka to be tried by the Russians as the Deceased was murdered on Russian Territory. I have not yet heard the result. These men had spread a Report that the Deceased was Intoxicated. But it is false it is not so. I never saw so correct accounts of every Dealing at the Place as were found in his accounts – a Drunkard does not keep correct accounts My compliments to my Uncle and Mr Roderic McKenzie and Mrs McKenzie and

Believe me to be Yours truly JOHN McLOUGHLIN

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[138] Elisabeth Fraser, daughter of Alexander Fraser.

112. DAVID McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER

F. VANCOUVER 15th March 1845[139]

MY DEAR FRASER Your kind epistle reached me last November containing the melancholy intelligence which befell you by the loss of your Father which grieved us much and allow me to thank you for the advice contained in it; could I but say the same thing I would be happy –

My Father wishes to pass the remainder of his life about here, he built a grist and Saw Mill on the Falls of the Willamette just below the settlement[140] the only way to the sea no doubt it is a valuable place but I do not like the situation it is surrounded by high impending hills covered with timber – no less than 100 to 150 houses on the claim already – go ahead seems to be the Motto adopted by the Yankees in the Wallamette never did that feature in their character show more forcibly and effectively as this year by some of the last immigrants immediately on their arrival located themselves on the property of old settlers forcibly taking possession of claims, in disregard to the laws established by the people the year preceding, every effort has been made to deslodge them by the Officers appointed for the purpose – they have partially succeeded there are some however who are determined to stand at the hazard of the existance – we had a visit this Summer by her Majesty's Sloop of War "Modeste," Cap: Bailey, she was at anchor opposit the Fort about four weeks they seemed to be well pleased with the appearance and prospects of the country – I have been away all the Winter from the Fort to the South Side of the Columbia we had very bad Winter – everything is going well – I am not yet married and there is but little prospects my ever getting a wife such is my mind at present. remember me me kindly to Mrs. Fraser and believe me to be ever yours truly DAVID McLOUGHLIN

JOHN FRASER Esquire
Terreboune Canada

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[139] The letter bears the post stamp, "Lachine 13 Oct. 1845."

[140] Oregon City.

113. DAVID McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER[141]

Oregon City 18th March 1849

My Dear Fraser You must not expect to receive a long letter this time from me as I have but very little time to spare, preparing for the Gold Mine. this Mine was found last Summer the extent of it is not Known. I believe both California & Oregon is covered with Gold there are gold mines found here but not so rich as the one in California I am now on the eve of starting for the gold region with large numbers of Indians hired to me for a year I hope then to be satisfied for the remainder of my life every one has to do his own work in these days, silver or Gold being no object to any one. This will throw this beautiful Country back for years This time last year men that would be very glad to get employment are now walking about the Street too proud to touch any thing. believe me Money is flying about here in large quantities especially Gold dust I have made for my share these last five months about twenty thousand dollars in Gold dust the Indian is waiting for this letter so you must excuse me remember me to all

I am ever yours D McLoughlin

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114. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER OF ST. MARK

Oregon City 29th March 1854

Mr John Fraser St Mark

I see by Mr Moffat's account that you are in my debt £ 186-6-11 and an arrear of interest since 12th of October 1850 will you please pay the arrears to Mr John Malcolm Fraser and oblige.

Yours respectfully, John McLoughlin

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[141] See illustration, Plate 9 (page 267).

115. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER OF ST. MARK

Oregon City 28 October 1856

Mr. John Fraser of St. Mark

Dear Sir I learn by a letter from Mr. John Malcolm Fraser dated 12th of Sep. that Mrs. Eliza Epps sold you my farm at Rivier du Loup, but she had no authority to do so but that you may understand the affair correctly I beg to observe I wrote some time ago to Mr. John Malcolm Fraser to sell my farm at Riviere du Loup but he replied that I had not sent him a Power of Attorney.

In July last I received a letter dated 23rd of April from the Rev. Mr. Prouloc of St. Valier stating that he wrote at the request of my nephew Michaud [son of McLoughlins sister Julienne] who wished to know if I was still inclined to dispose of my lands, and my nephew told him that everything was going to ruin and at the same time Mrs. Epps [daughter of McLoughlin] wrote that Mr. John Malcolm Fraser had told her that he would have nothing to do with my affairs this with his silence as I did not receive an acknowledgement of the Receipt of my power of Attorney, lead me to suppose that what she said was true and I therefore sent her my Power of Attorney with a copy of my letters to John Malcolm Fraser Esq. to serve as instructions to her, on the following day it occurred to me that Mr. Fraser might not have received my letters and Power of Attorney and I therefore had a Power of Attorney made and sent it to John Malcolm Fraser Esquire, opened my letter of the 23rd of July to Mrs. Epps and addressed the following Postscript.

> P.S. On second thought it is so unaccountable to me that I do not hear from Mr. John Malcolm Fraser that I sent the accompanying letter to you that you may see what I have written to Mr. Fraser and my wishes. And if his silence proceeds from unwillingness to do the business you may see what I wish and act. I send you my Power of Attorney but well understood that if Mr. Frasers silence proceeds from sickness and he is willing to act you must not act or use the Power of Attorney.
>
> Yours etc John McLoughlin

You see from this as distinctly as I could possibly express [myself] that she had no right to act if Mr. Fraser was willing to act and after my writing her so fully and plainly on the subject you may easily imagine how much I was surprised to hear what she had done. Mr. Fraser writes me that he protested against her acts which of course was his duty to do and I trust that you will consent at least in justice to me to annul the bargain and oblige

Yours Respectfully JOHN McLOUGHLIN

P.S. Present my respects Mr. Fraser and family J. Mc L

P.S. You see I cannot write and employ an emanueusis Miss Louisa Rae my grandaughter. JOHN McLOUGHLIN

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116. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN MALCOLM FRASER

OREGON CITY 1 Janry 1856 [1857]

JOHN MALCOLM FRASER, Esquire

DEAR SIR I send with this a copy of mine to you of the 28th of October, 10th Nov: 23rd of Nov. and 22nd Dec and original 5th January [in] which I said in case the originals may not have reached you I send also with this a Draft on the Hudson Bay Co: for two hundred pounds this will make a total of Five hundred fifty pounds on the Hudson Bay Co. out of which I wish you to pay John Fraser of St. Mark the money Mrs. Eppes got from him and redeem my land at River de Loup. I wish you would at the same time stop the balance he owes me pay the amount Mrs. Eppes owes to my cousin Mr. William Fraser of Rivier de Loup say two hundred pounds with three years interest. She says pay yourself your expenses and trouble and have the goodness to hand the remainder over to Mrs. Eppes. As to my lands in Rivier de Loup as I wrote I wish to rent them to my Nephew Michaud at fair rent one year as I already wrote and when I find a fair price for them at the figure you mention I wish to sell them, in the first place to my brother-in-law and Nephew giving them the first offer that is the preference on the same terms as others & one fourth ready money to secure me [and] to secure me the remaining three fourths. [You] are to find date to suit them but paying interest on it quarterly till paid with such other precautions as you may deem necessary to secure me. Please observe that paying by installments at the distance I am would not suit me – payments when made first and last must be in a lump [sum] – and with many thanks for the trouble you have taken believe me to be

Yours truly JOHN McLOUGHLIN

117. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN MALCOLM FRASER

Oregon City 5th Janry 1857

John Malcolm Fraser Esquire

Dear Sir I enclose with this a draft for two hundred pounds sterling on the Hudson Bay Company – this makes a total of six hundred and fifty pounds sterling that I sent you since the 27th of October 1856 say fifty pounds on the 27th of October two hundred pounds on the 23 of November and 200 pounds on the 22nd of December and now two hundred pounds more on this day and you see by the enclosed letter to John Fraser, St Mark, that he owed me £ 186–6–11 on the 12th of October 1850 he has not paid you. Mrs Epps tells me he has not paid her of this money a cent. I wrote him to pay this to you in 1854 and of these drafts and the balance of what Mr Fraser St Mark owes me you will Return the money with interest and expenses which Mr Fraser incurred in Redeeming land Mrs Eppes sold. Dr Dechesne borrowed two hundred dollars in 1850 from Mr John Fraser of St Mark for which he pledged his house and lot at Riviere du Loup – he has given me two hundred and eighty four dollars to Remit to Mr John Fraser if Mr Fraser is willing to return the house and lot. to Mr Dechesne, please pay him the two hundred and eighty four dollars in settling my a/c with Mr John Fraser of St Mark. After making these payments you will please hand the Remainder of the money to Mrs Epps. Allow me to wish you the compliments of the season and my thanks for the trouble you have taken and believe me to be

Yours respectfully John McLoughlin

p.s. You will please bear in mind that Mr Michaud never paid one cent of rent to me for my property. Please rent it to him for one year at what you think fair and if you will please tell them if they wish to buy to state what they will give for the lands my intention is to give them the preference on the same terms I could get from others, say paying a part down and interest on the remainder till paid, paying in driplets and annual installments does not suit me. J.McL.

p.s. Mrs Eppes tells me she borrowed two hundred pounds in 1852 from Mr William Fraser, please pay him out of the money I sent you and then give the balance to Mrs Eppes.

118. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TO JOHN FRASER OF ST. MARK

Oregon City 5th January 1857

Mr John Fraser St Mark

Dear Sir The above is a copy of a letter I wrote you on the date specified instructing you to pay Mr John Malcolm Fraser the above sum and interest in arrears, but Mr John Malcolm Fraser tells me you have not paid. Will you do me the favor to pay it to Mr John Malcolm Fraser at your earliest convenience and oblige

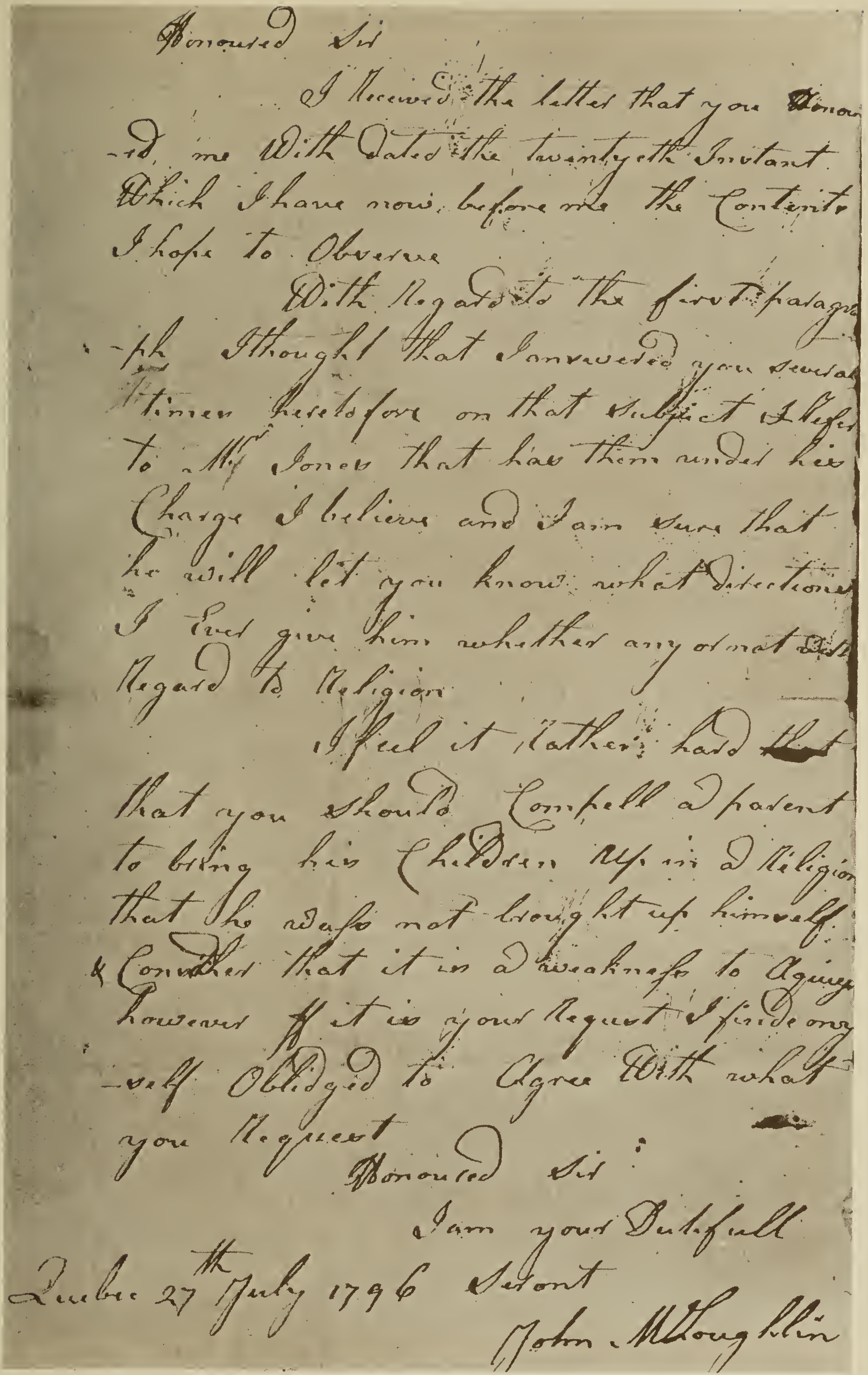
Yours respectfully, (signed) John McLoughlin

p.s. My nephew Doctor Dechesne [son of Dr McLoughlin's sister Honore Angel] says he borrowed two hundred dollars from you for which he gave his house in security, he has deposited two hundred and eighty four dollars with me to remit to you if you return him his house. Charge me that money and Mr Malcolm Fraser will pay it to you when settling my account with you. I have written Mr John Malcolm Fraser to pay you the money and expenses you incurred so as you will return me my property.

J.McL.

My compliments of the season to yourself and my cousin Mrs Fraser and her sister tell them when I have the pleasure of seeing them I will exact payment of all the New Year and Christmas kisses that they are in arrears. Dont forget to tell my message to the Ladies

John McLoughlin
per Louisa M. Rae



Honoured Sir

I Received the letter that you Honoured me With dated the twentyeth Instant Which I have now before me the Contents I hope to Observe

With Regard to the first paragraph I thought that I answered you several times heretofore on that subject I refer to Mr Jones that has them under his Charge I believe and I am sure that he will let you know what directions I Ever give him whether any or not With Regard to Religion

I feel it Rather hard ~~that~~ that you should Compell a parent to bring his Children up in a Religion that he wass not brought up himself & Consider that it is a weakness to Agree however If it is your Request I finde one-self Oblidgied to Agree With what you Request

Honoured Sir

I am your Dutifull

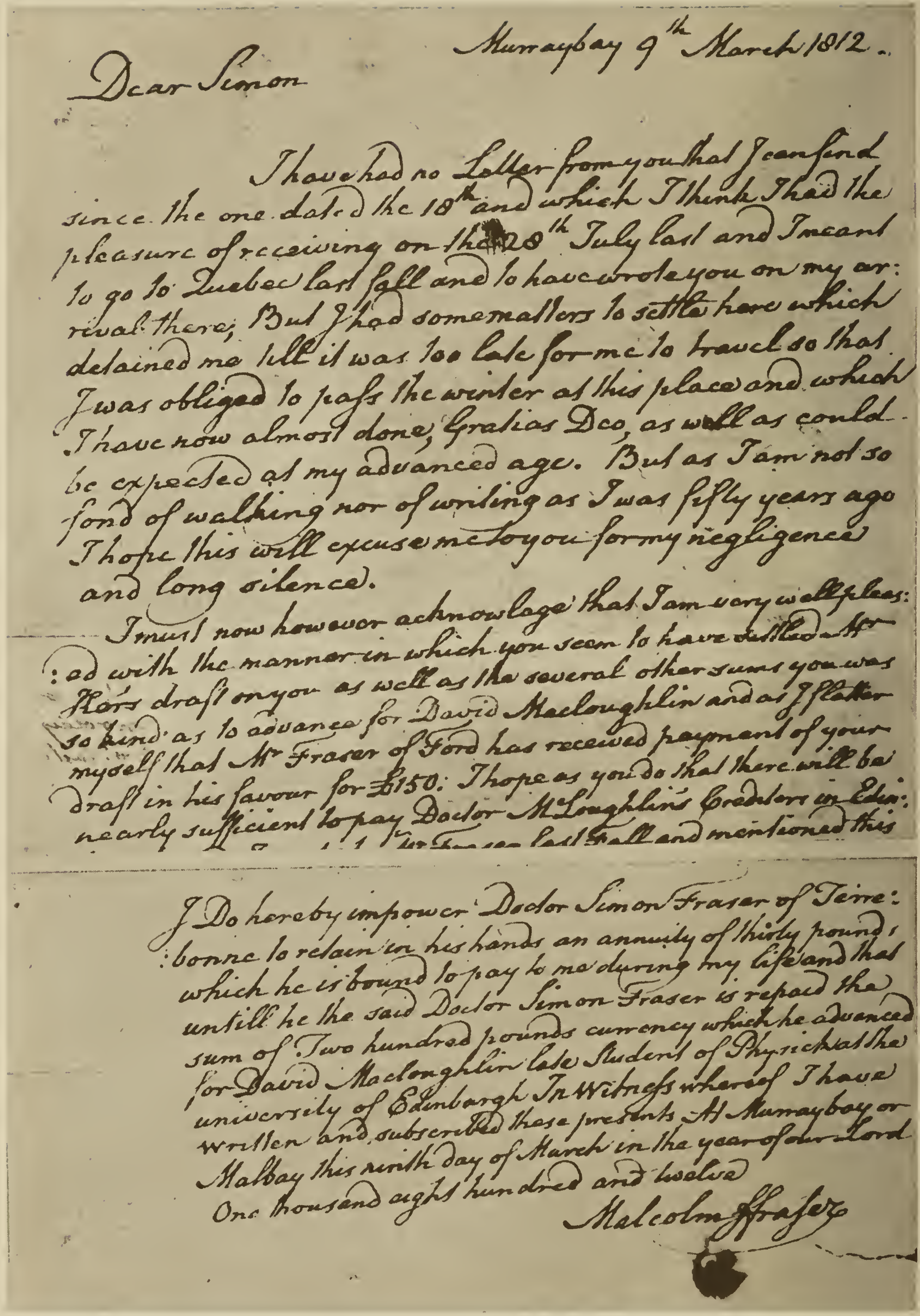
Quebec 27th July 1796 Servant

John McLoughlin

Letter of Cultivateur John McLoughlin, July 27, 1796

Father of Dr. John McLoughlin, to Col. Fraser, his father-in-law.
See Appendix I, Letter 1.

Plate 2



Murraybay 9th March 1812.

Dear Simon

I have had no Letter from you that I can find
since the one dated the 18th and which I think I had the
pleasure of receiving on the 28th July last and I meant
to go to Quebec last fall and to have wrote you on my ar:
rival there; But I had some matters to settle here which
detained me till it was too late for me to travel so that
I was obliged to pass the winter at this place and which
I have now almost done, Gratias Deo, as well as could
be expected at my advanced age. But as I am not so
fond of walking nor of writing as I was fifty years ago
I hope this will excuse me to you for my negligence
and long silence.

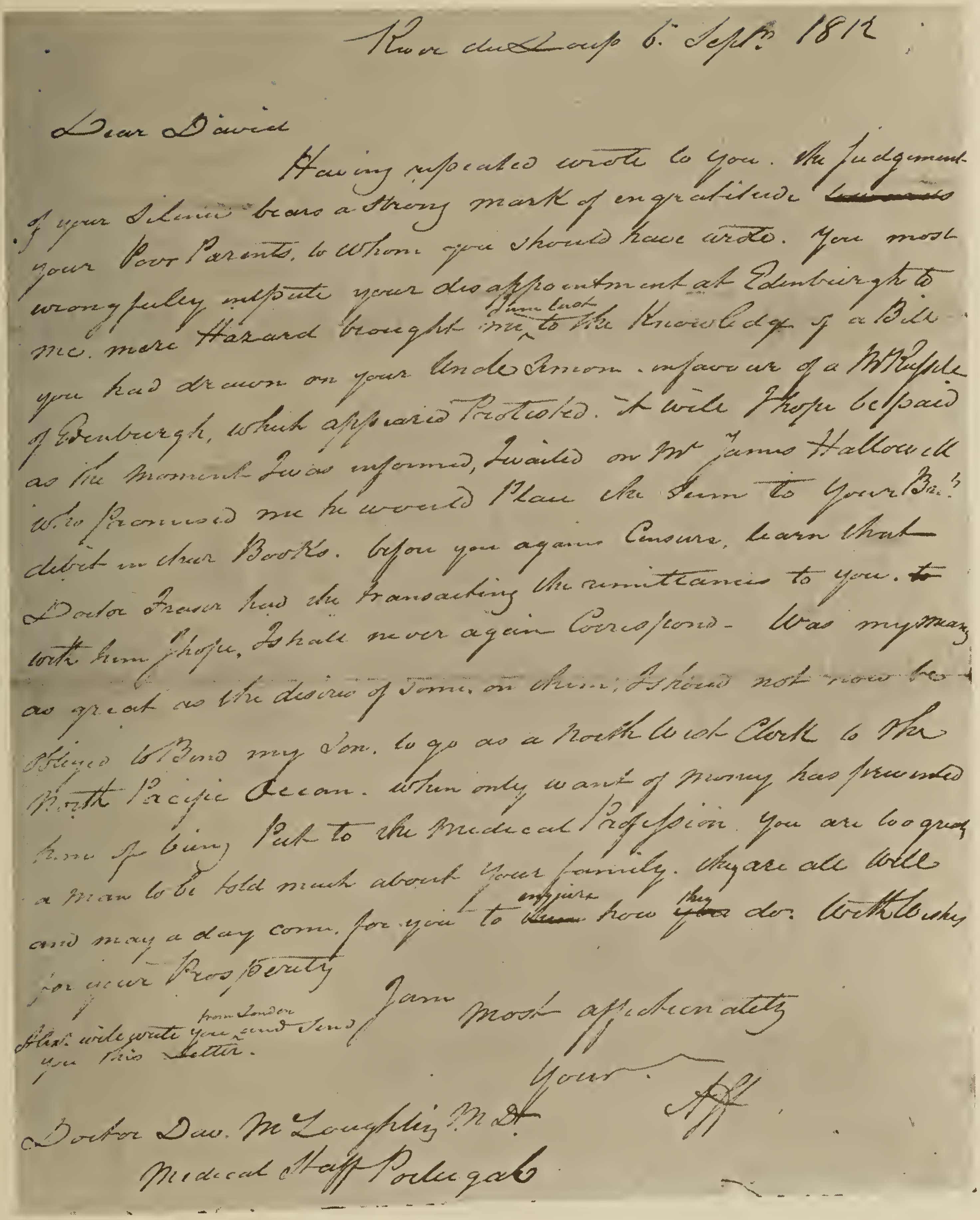
I must now however acknowlage that I am very well pleas:
:ed with the manner in which you seem to have settled Mr
Hor's draft on you as well as the several other sums you was
so kind as to advance for David Macloughlin and as I flatter
myself that Mr Fraser of Ford has received payment of your
draft in his favour for £150: I hope as you do that there will be
nearly sufficient to pay Doctor McLoughlin's Creditors in Edin:
[illegible] Mr Fraser last Fall and mentioned this

I Do hereby impower Doctor Simon Fraser of Terre:
:bonne to retain in his hands an annuity of thirty pounds,
which he is bound to pay to me during my life and that
untill he the said Doctor Simon Fraser is repaid the
sum of Two hundred pounds currency which he advanced
for David Macloughlin late Student of Physick at the
university of Edinburgh In Witness whereof I have
written and subscribed these presents At Murraybay or
Malbay this ninth day of March in the year of our Lord
One thousand eight hundred and twelve

Malcolm Fraser

Portions of a Letter of Col. Malcolm Fraser, March 9, 1812
See Appendix I, Letter 16.

Plate 3



Riviere du Loup 6th Septr 1812

Dear David

Having repeated wrote to you. the judgment of your Silence bears a strong mark of ingratitude ~~[illegible]~~ your Poor Parents, to Whom you should have wrote. You most wrongfully impute your disappointment at Edenburgh to me. mere Hazard brought me June last to the Knowledge of a Bill you had drawn on your Uncle Simon. in favour of a Mr Ruple of Edenburgh, which appeared Protested. It will I hope be paid as the moment I was informed, I waited on Mr James Hallowell Who Promised me he would Place the Sum to Your Brs debit in their Books. before you again Censure, learn that Doctor Fraser had the transacting the remittances to you. ~~to~~ with him I hope, I shall never again Correspond. Was my means as great as the desire of Some on them; I should not now be obliged to Bind my Son, to go as a North West Clerk to the North Pacific Ocean. when only want of money has prevented him of being Put to the Medical Profession. You are too great a Man to be told much about Your family. they are all Well and may a day come for you to ~~hear~~ inquire how ~~you~~ they do. With Wishes for your Prosperity

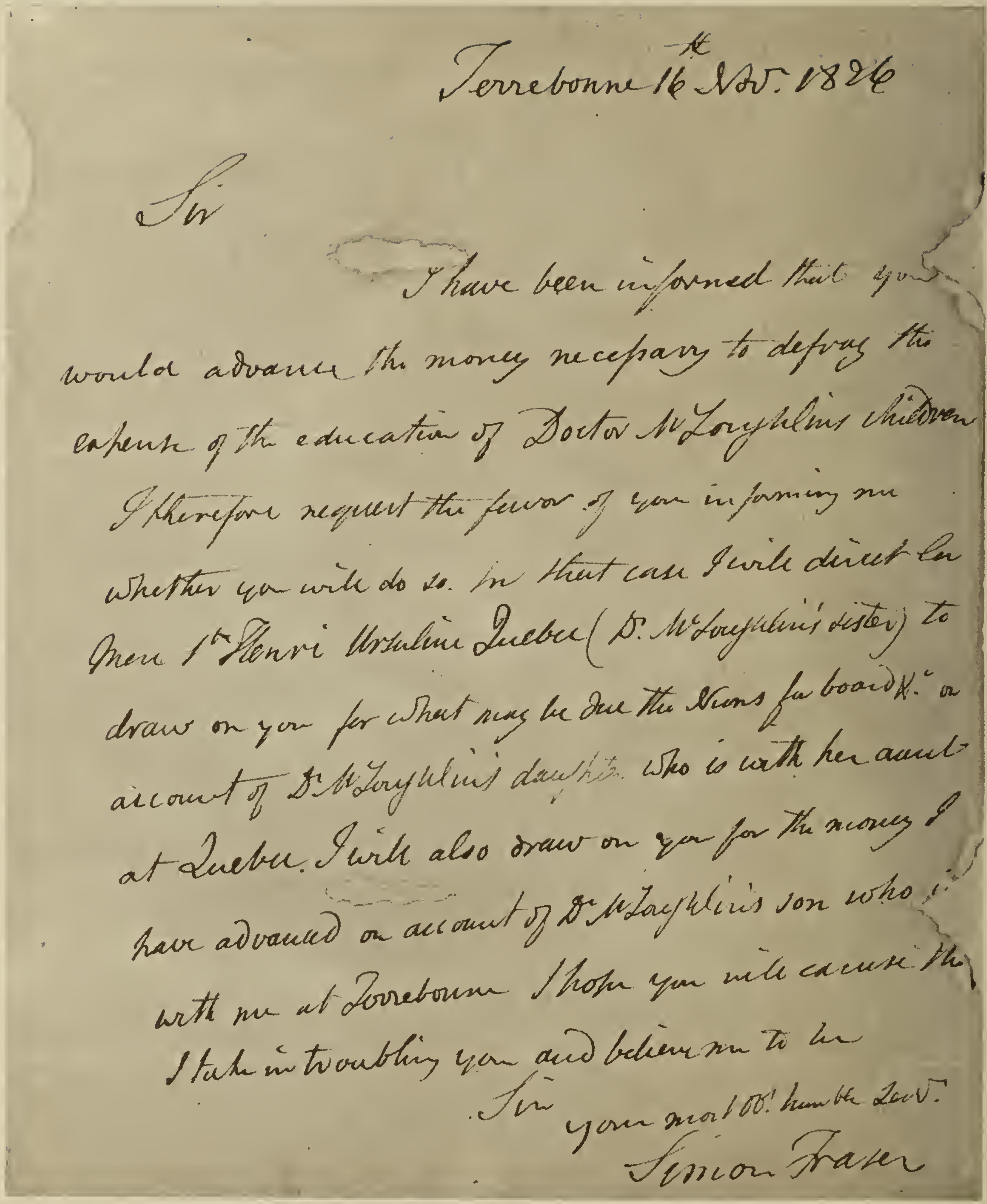
I am most affectionately
Your Aff

Alex. will write you from London and Send you this Letter.

Doctor Dav. McLoughlin M.D.
Medical Staff Portugal

Letter of Alexander Fraser, September 6, 1812
See Appendix I, Letter 20.

Plate 4



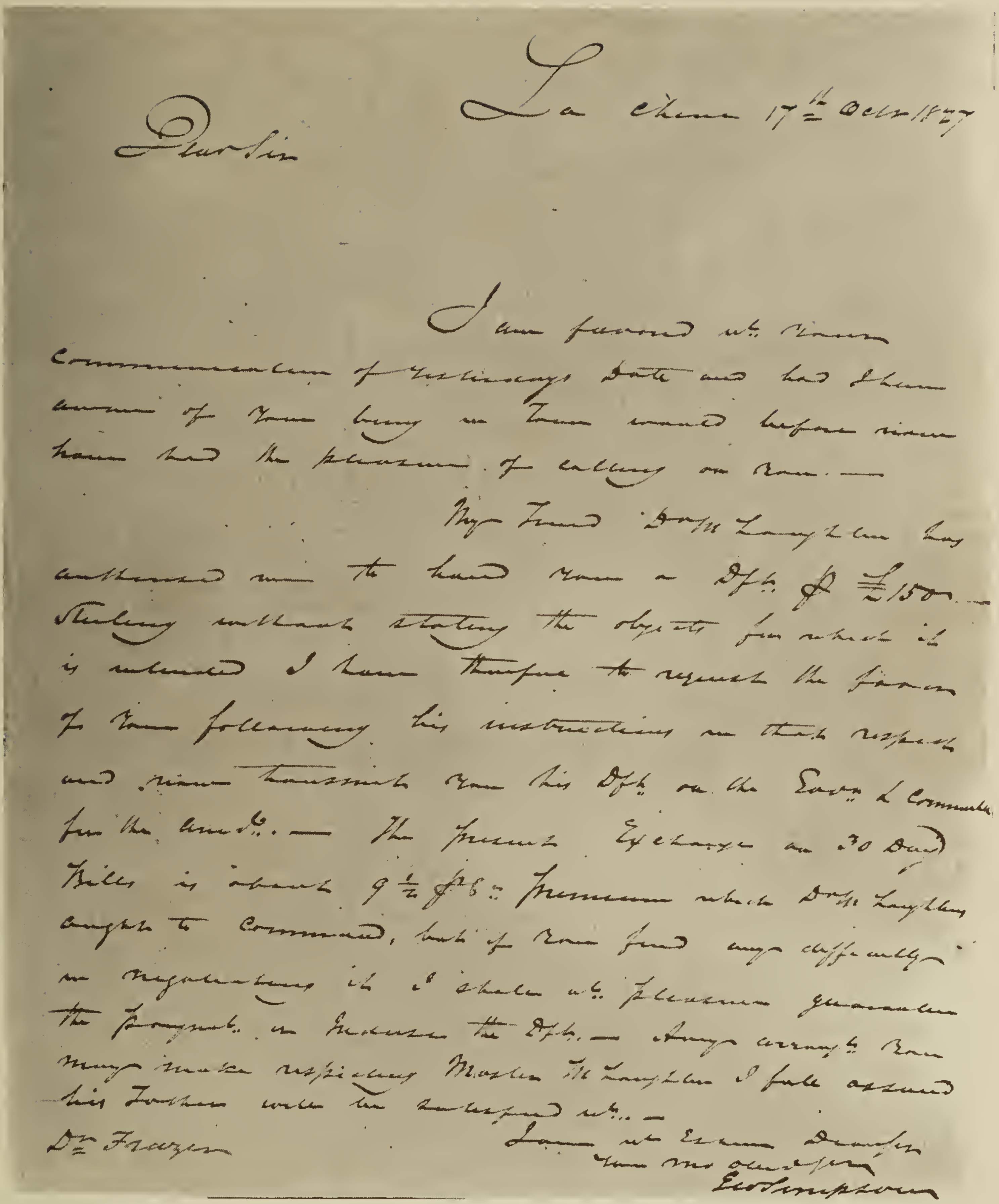
Terrebonne 16th Nov. 1826

Sir

I have been informed that you
would advance the money necessary to defray the
expense of the education of Doctor McLoughlin's children
I therefore request the favor of you informing me
whether you will do so. In that case I will direct La
Mere St Henri Ursuline Quebec (Dr. McLoughlin's sister) to
draw on you for what may be due the Nuns for board &c. on
account of Dr McLoughlin's daughter who is with her aunt
at Quebec. I will also draw on you for the money I
have advanced on account of Dr McLoughlin's son who is
with me at Terrebonne I hope you will excuse the
I take in troubling you and believe me to be

Sir your most Obt. humble Servt.
Simon Fraser

Letter of Doctor Simon Fraser, November 16, 1826
See Appendix I, Letter 39.



La Chine 17th Octr 1827

Dear Sir

I am favored with your Communication of Yesterdays Date and had I been aware of your being in Town would before now have had the pleasure of calling on you. —

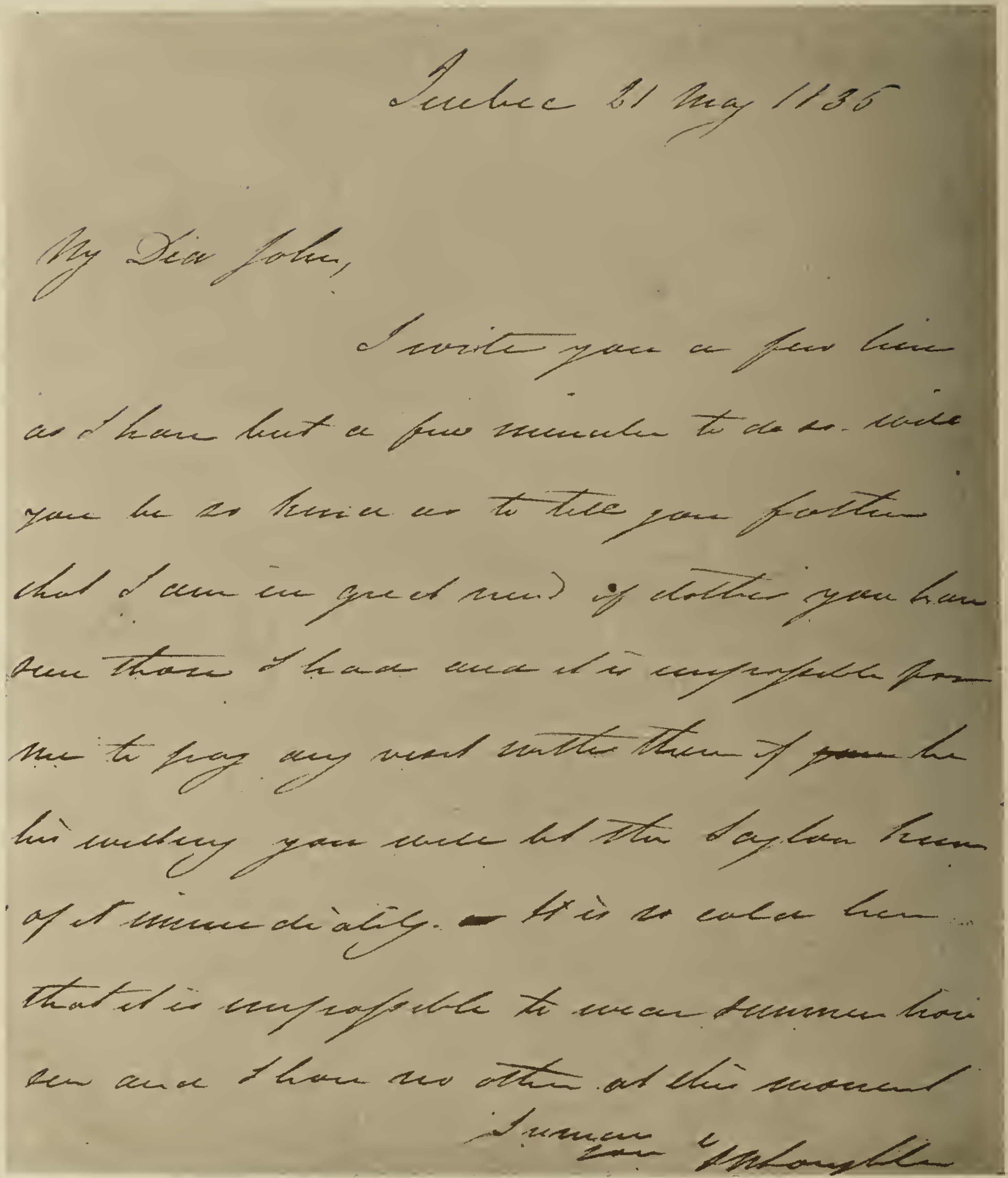
My Friend Dr McLaughlin has authorized me to hand you a Dft. pr £150. — Sterling without stating the objects for which it is intended I have therefore to request the favor of you following his instructions in that respect and now transmit you his Dft. on the Govr & Committee for the Amot. — The present Exchange on 30 Days Bills is about 9½ pCt Premium which Dr McLaughlin ought to Command, but if you find any difficulty in negotiating it I shall with pleasure guarantee the payment or Endorse the Dft. — Any arrangts you may make respecting Master McLaughlin I feel assured his Father will be satisfied with. —

I am with Esteem Dear Sir
Your mo obedt servt
Geo Simpson

Dr Frazer

Letter of Sir George Simpson, October 17, 1827
See Appendix I, Letter 45.

Plate 6



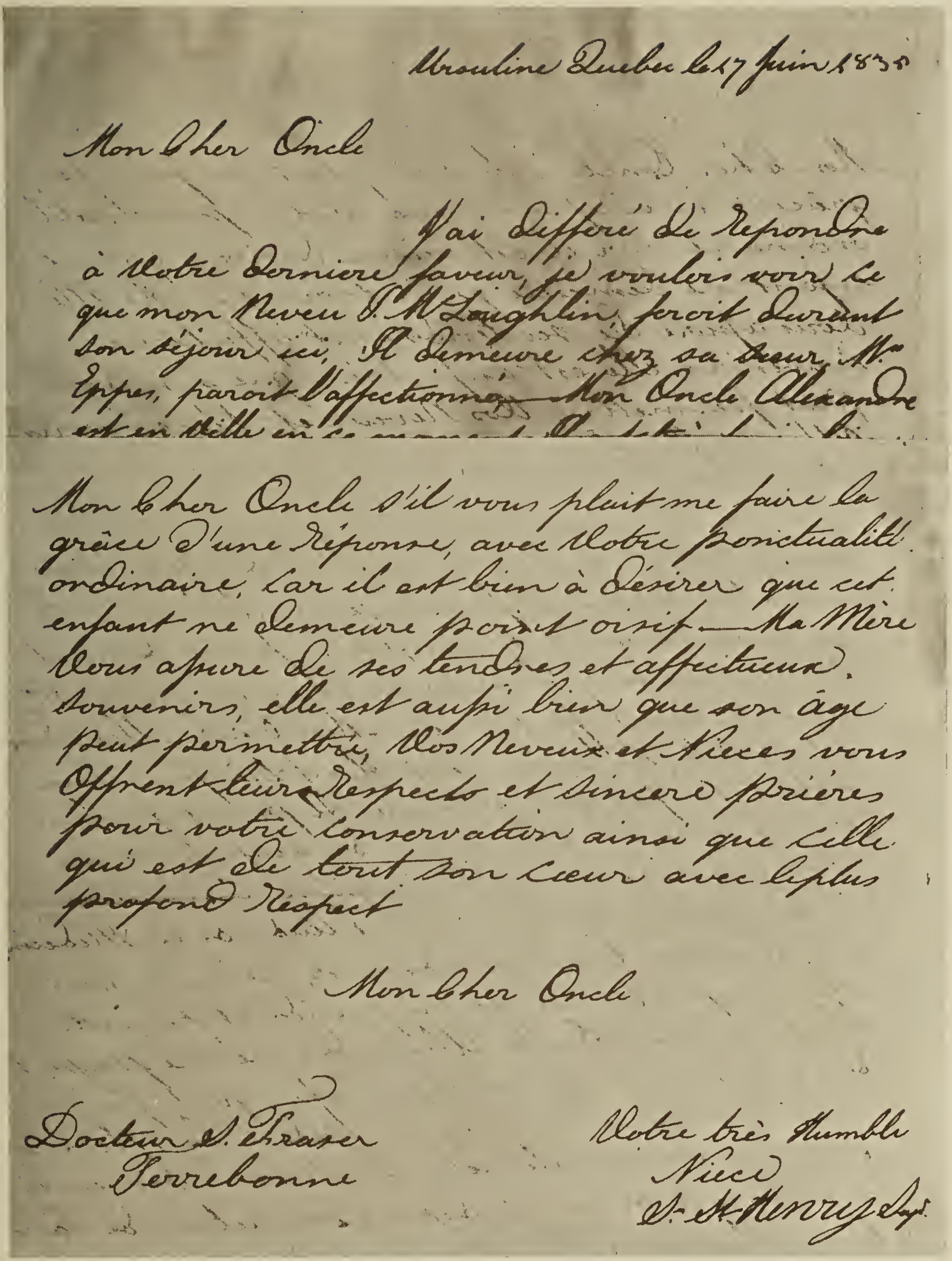
Quebec 21 May 1836

My Dear John,

I write you a few lines as I have but a few minutes to do so. Will you be so kind as to tell your father that I am in great need of clothes you have seen those I had and it is impossible for me to pay any rent rather than if ~~you~~ he be willing you will let the Taylor know of it immediately. — It is so cold here that it is impossible to wear summer trousers and I have no other at this moment

I remain
son J McLoughlin

Letter of John McLoughlin, son of Dr. John McLoughlin
See Appendix I, Letter 75.



Ursuline Quebec le 17 juin 1830

Mon Cher Oncle

J'ai différé de Répondre à Votre derniere faveur, je voulois voir ce que mon Neveu D. McLoughlin feroit durant son séjour ici, Il demeure chez sa Sœur Mde Eppes, paroit l'affectionner — Mon Oncle Alexandre

Mon Cher Oncle s'il vous plait me faire la grâce d'une Réponse, avec Votre ponctualité ordinaire, car il est bien à Désirer que cet enfant ne Demeure point oisif — Ma Mère Vous aſsure de ses tendres et affectueux souvenirs, elle est auſsi bien que son âge peut permettre, Vos Neveux et Nieces vous Offrent leurs Respects et Sincères prières pour votre conservation ainsi que celle qui est de tout son cœur avec le plus profond Respect

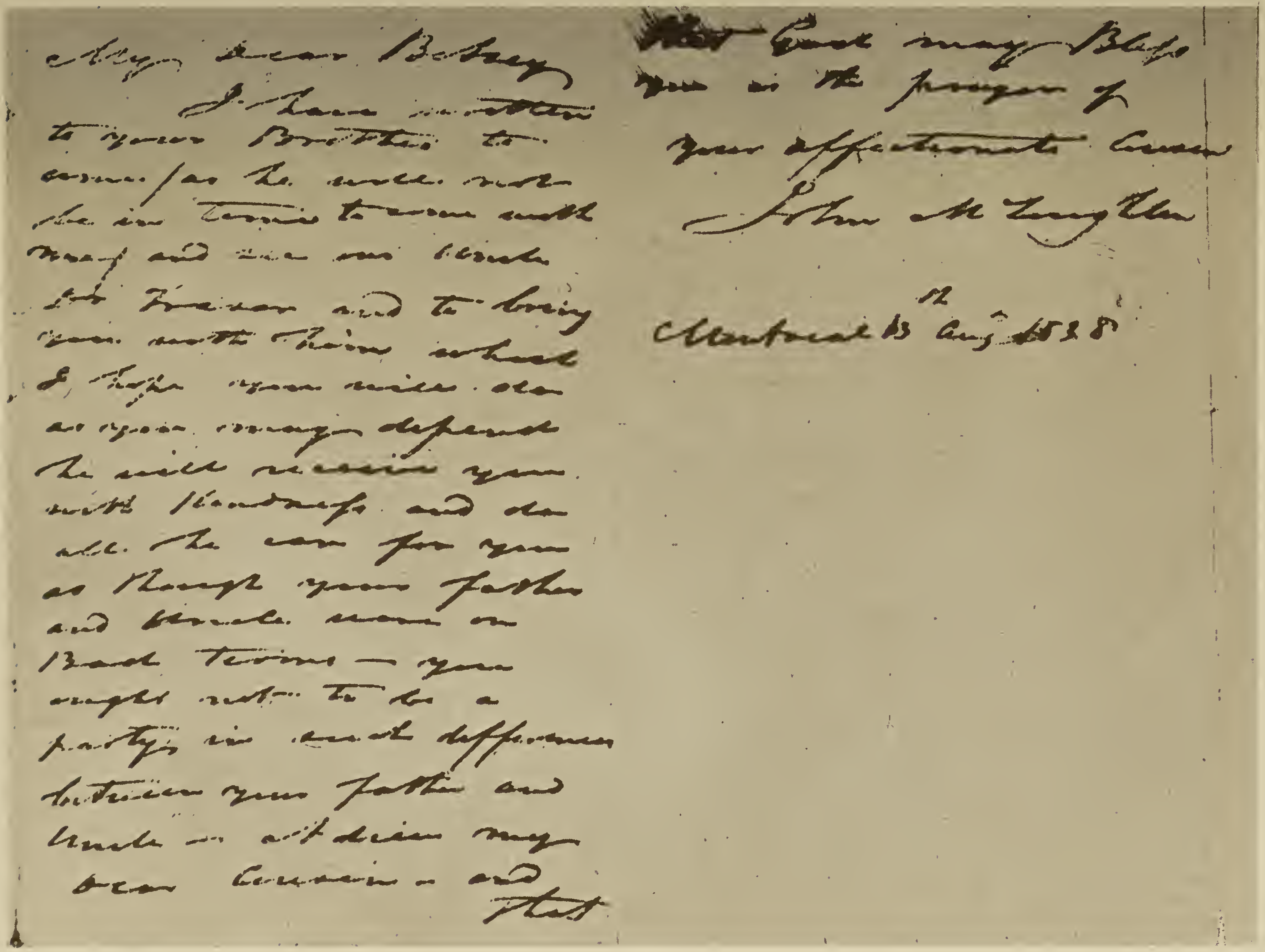
Mon Cher Oncle

Votre très Humble
Niece
St. Henry Sup.

Docteur S. Fraser
Terrebonne

Portions of a Letter of Sister St. Henry (Marie Louise McLoughlin)
See Appendix I, Letter 79, for translation.

Plate 8



My dear Betsey
I have written to your Brother to come/as he will not be in time to come with Mary and see our Uncle Dr Fraser and to bring you with him which I hope you will do as you may depend he will receive you with kindness and do all he can for you as though your father and Uncle were on Bad terms — you ought not to be a party in such difference between your father and Uncle — as I desire my dear Cousin — and that

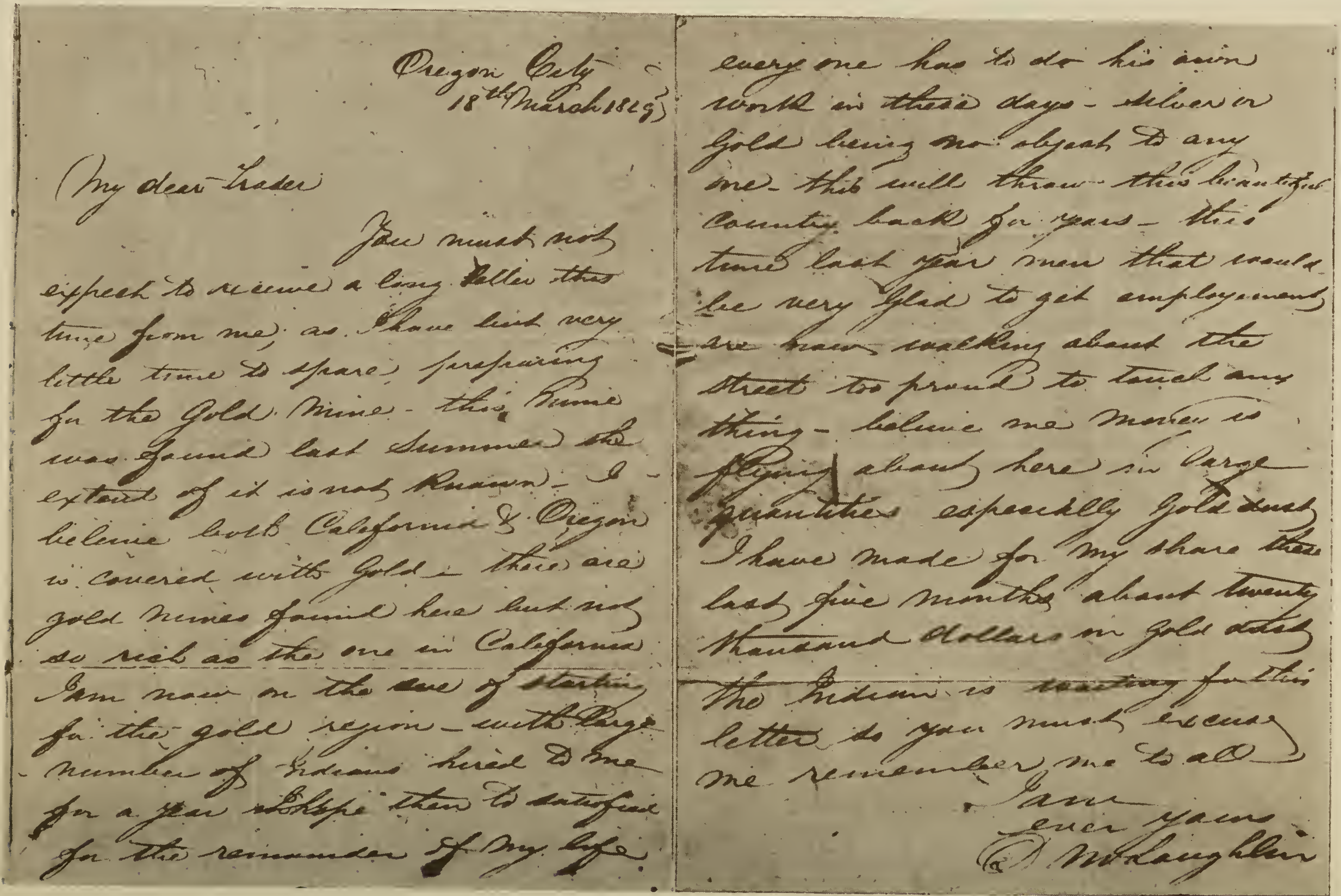
[illegible] God may Bless you is the prayer of your affectionate Cousin

John McLoughlin

Montreal 12 Aug 1838

Letter of Doctor John McLoughlin, August 12, 1838
See Appendix I, Letter 103.

Plate 9



Oregon City
18th March 1849

My dear Trader

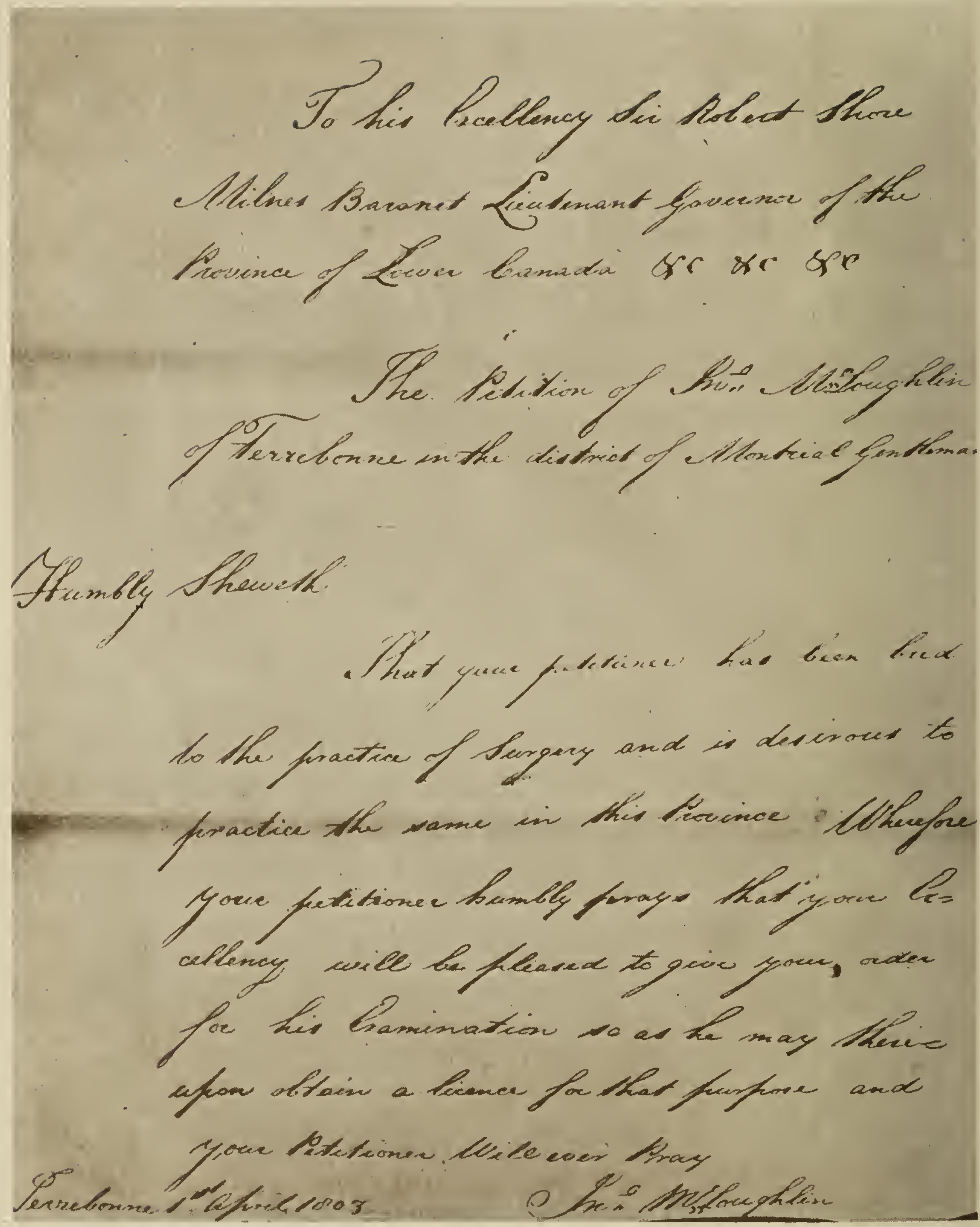
You must not
expect to recieve a long letter this
time from me, as I have but very
little time to spare, preparing
for the Gold Mine - this Mine
was found last Summer the
extent of it is not known - I
believe both California & Oregon
is covered with Gold - there are
gold mines found here but not
so rich as the one in California
I am now on the eve of starting
for the gold region - with large
number of Indians hired to me
for a year & I hope then to satisfied
for the remainder of my life.

every one has to do his own
work in these days - silver or
Gold being no object to any
one - this will throw this beautiful
Country back for years - this
time last year men that would
be very glad to get employment
are now walking about the
street too proud to touch any
thing - believe me money is
flying about here in large
quantities especially Gold dust
I have made for my share these
last five months about twenty
thousand dollars in Gold dust
the Indian is waiting for this
letter so you must excuse
me remember me to all

I am
ever yours
D. McLoughlin

LETTER OF DAVID McLOUGHLIN, SON OF DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN
See Appendix I, Letter 113.

Plate 10



To his Excellency Sir Robert Shore
Milnes Baronet Lieutenant Governor of the
Province of Lower Canada &c &c &c

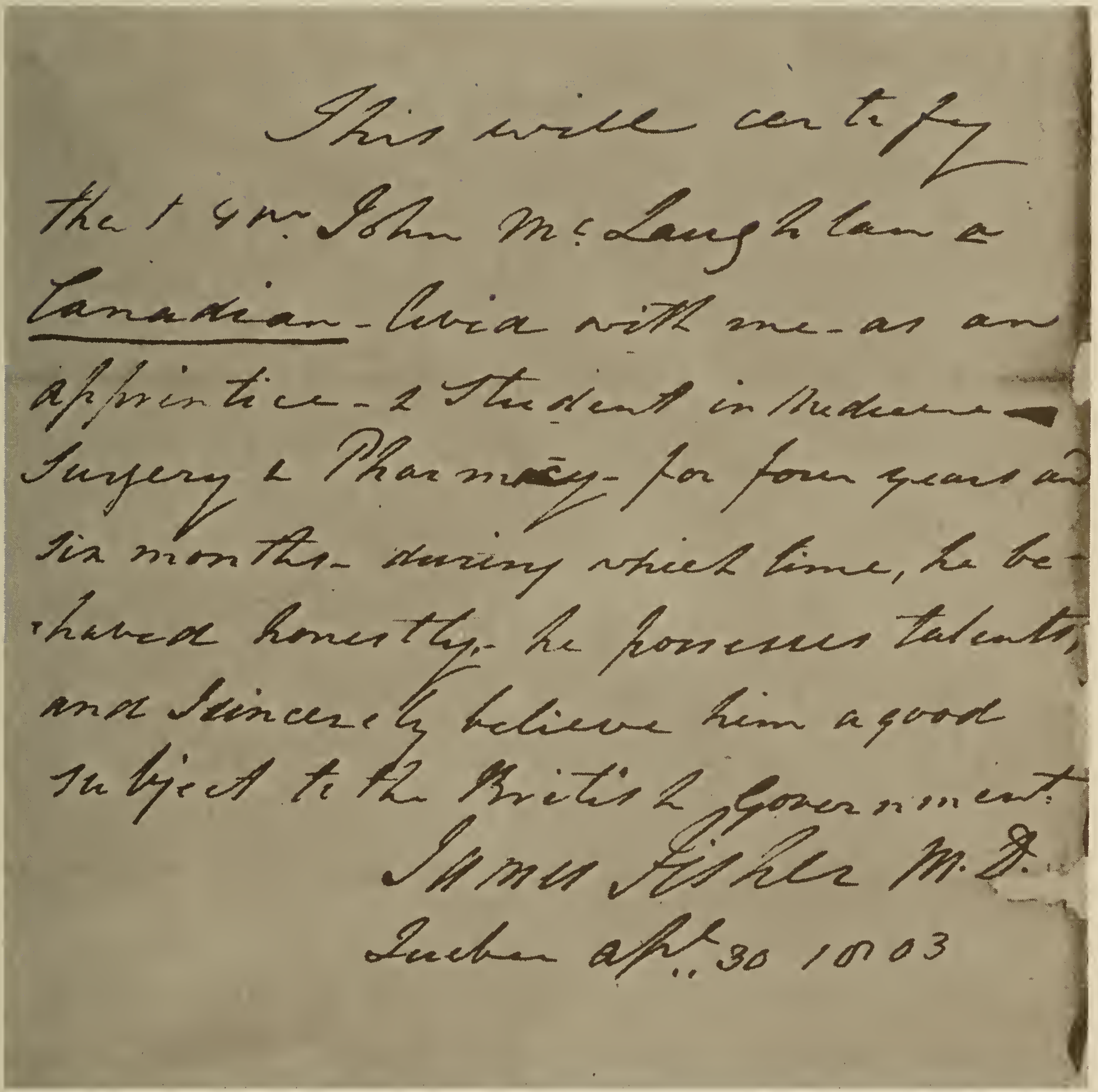
The Petition of Jno McLoughlin
of Terrebonne in the district of Montreal Gentleman

Humbly Sheweth

That your petitioner has been bred
to the practice of Surgery and is desirous to
practice the same in this Province : Wherefore
your petitioner humbly prays that your Ex=
cellency will be pleased to give your order
for his Examination so as he may there=
upon obtain a licence for that purpose and
your Petitioner Will ever Pray

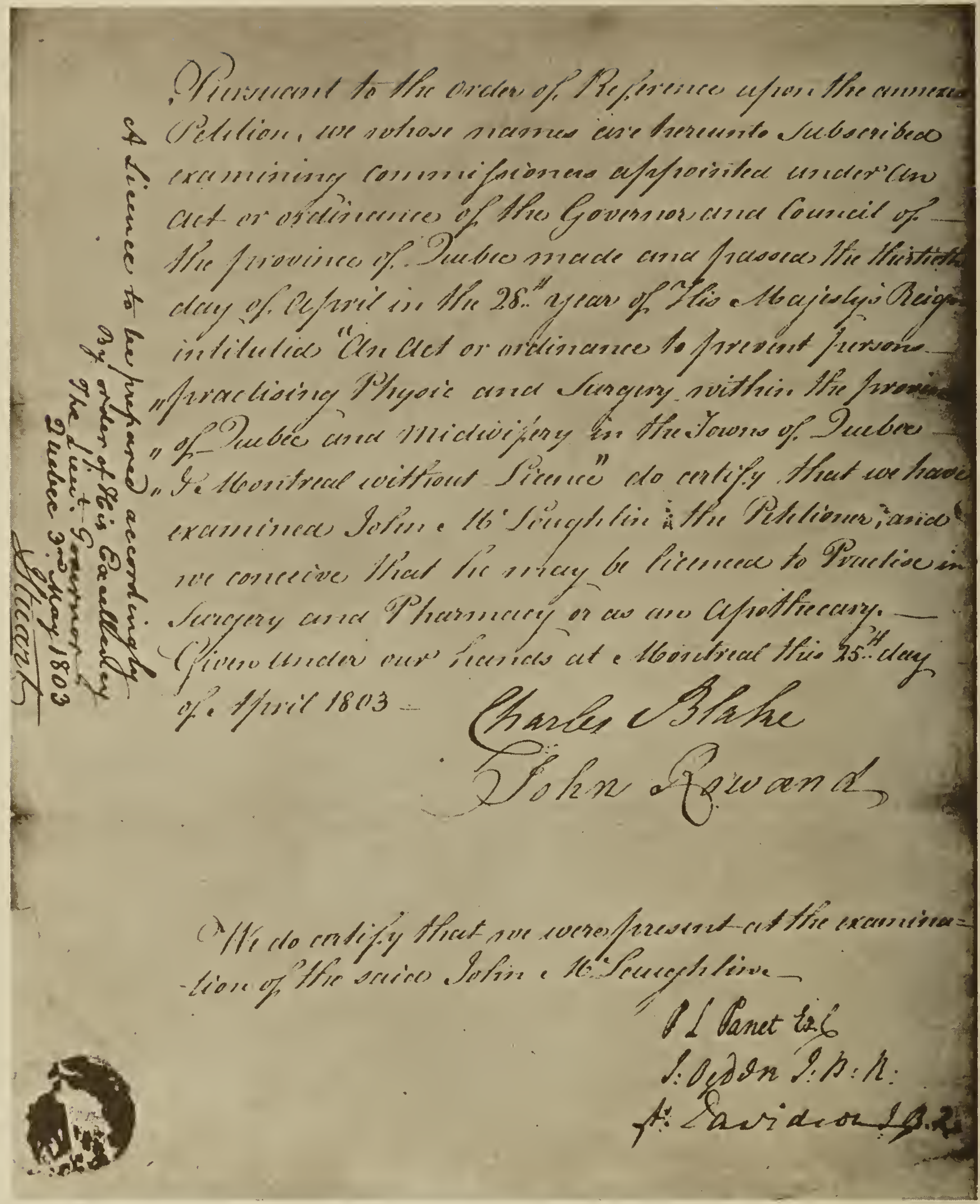
Terrebonne 1st April 1803 Jno McLoughlin

Petition of John McLoughlin to Practice Medicine
See Appendix II, Document 3.



This will certify
that Mr. John McLaughlan a
Canadian - lived with me - as an
apprentice - & Student in Medicine
Surgery & Pharmacy - for four years and
six months - during which time, he behaved honestly - he possesses talents,
and I sincerely believe him a good
subject to the British Government.
James Fisher M.D.
Quebec Apl. 30 1803

AFFIDAVIT OF DR. JAMES FISHER REGARDING JOHN McLOUGHLIN'S PETITION TO PRACTICE MEDICINE
See Appendix II, Document 3.



Pursuant to the order of Reference upon the annexed Petition, we whose names are hereunto subscribed examining commissioners appointed under an Act or ordinance of the Governor and Council of the province of Quebec made and passed the thirtieth day of April in the 28th year of His Majesty's Reign intituled "An Act or ordinance to prevent persons "practising Physic and Surgery within the province "of Quebec and Midwifery in the Towns of Quebec "& Montreal without Licence" do certify that we have examined John McLoughlin the Petitioner, and we conceive that he may be licenced to Practise in Surgery and Pharmacy or as an Apothecary.— Given under our hands at Montreal this 25th day of April 1803—

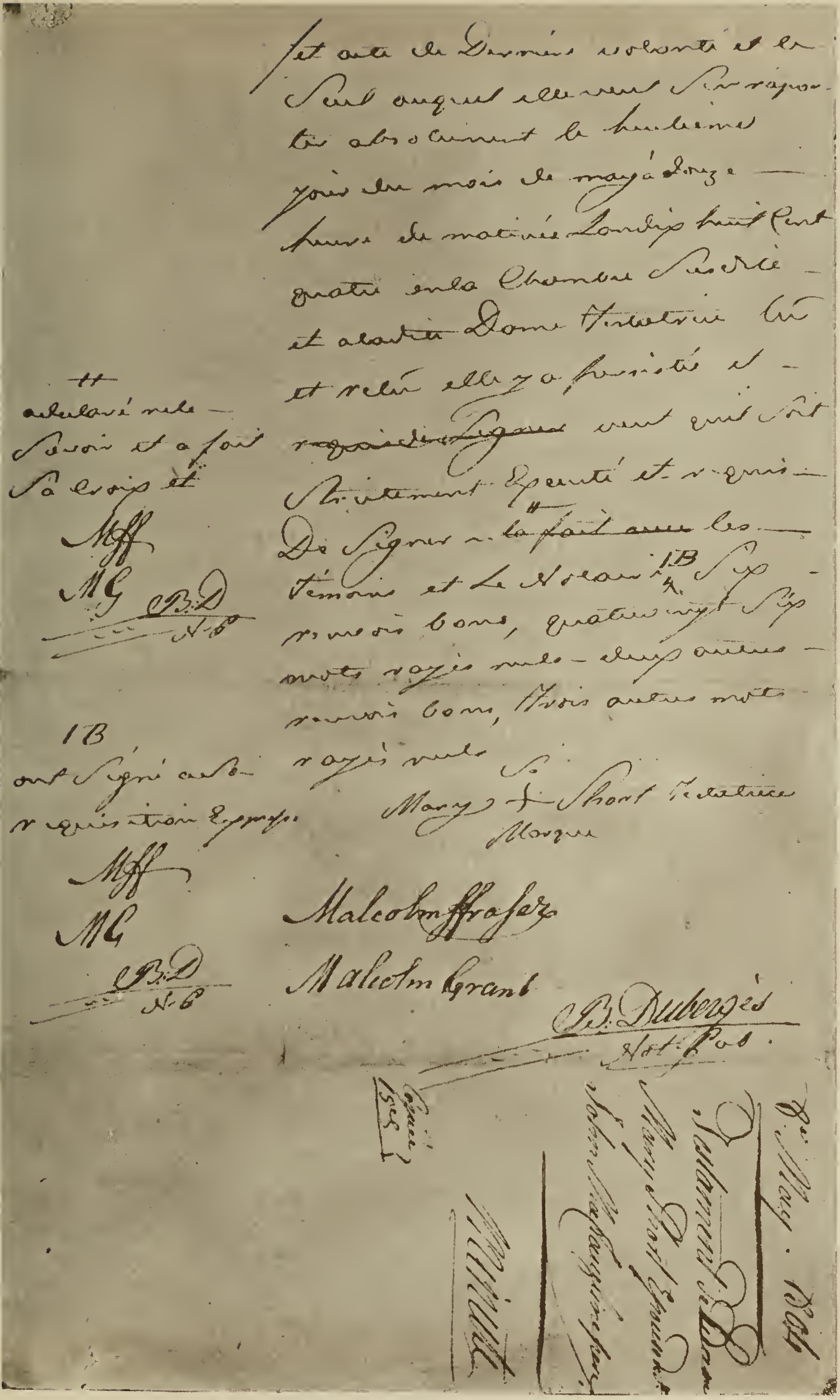
Charles Blake
John Rowand

We do certify that we were present at the examination of the said John McLoughlin—

P L Panet Esq
J. Ogden J.P.R.
F. Davidson J.P.R.

A Licence to be prepared accordingly
By order of His Excellency
The Lieut. Governor
Quebec 3rd May 1803
J Stuart

Dr. John McLoughlin's Permit to Practice Medicine
See Appendix II, Document 3.



fet acte de Dernier volonté et la
Seul auquel elle veut S'en rapor-
ter absolument le huitième
jour du mois de may à douze —
heure de matinée Lan dix huit Cent
quatre en la Chambre susdite —
et a la dite Dame testatrice lu
et relu elle y a persisté et —
~~requise de~~ Signer veut quil soit
Strictement Executé et requise
de Signer #~~a la fait avec~~ les —
témoins et Le Notaire IB Six
renvois bons, quatre vingt six
mots rayés nuls — deux autres —
renvois bons, trois autres mots
rayés nuls

Mary + Short testatrice
Marque

Malcolm Fraser
Malcolm Grant
B. Dubergès
Not. Pub.

#
a declaré ne le —
Savoir et a fait
Sa croix et
Mff
MG
BD
N.P

IB
ont Signé avec —
requisition Expresse.
Mff
MG
BD
N.P

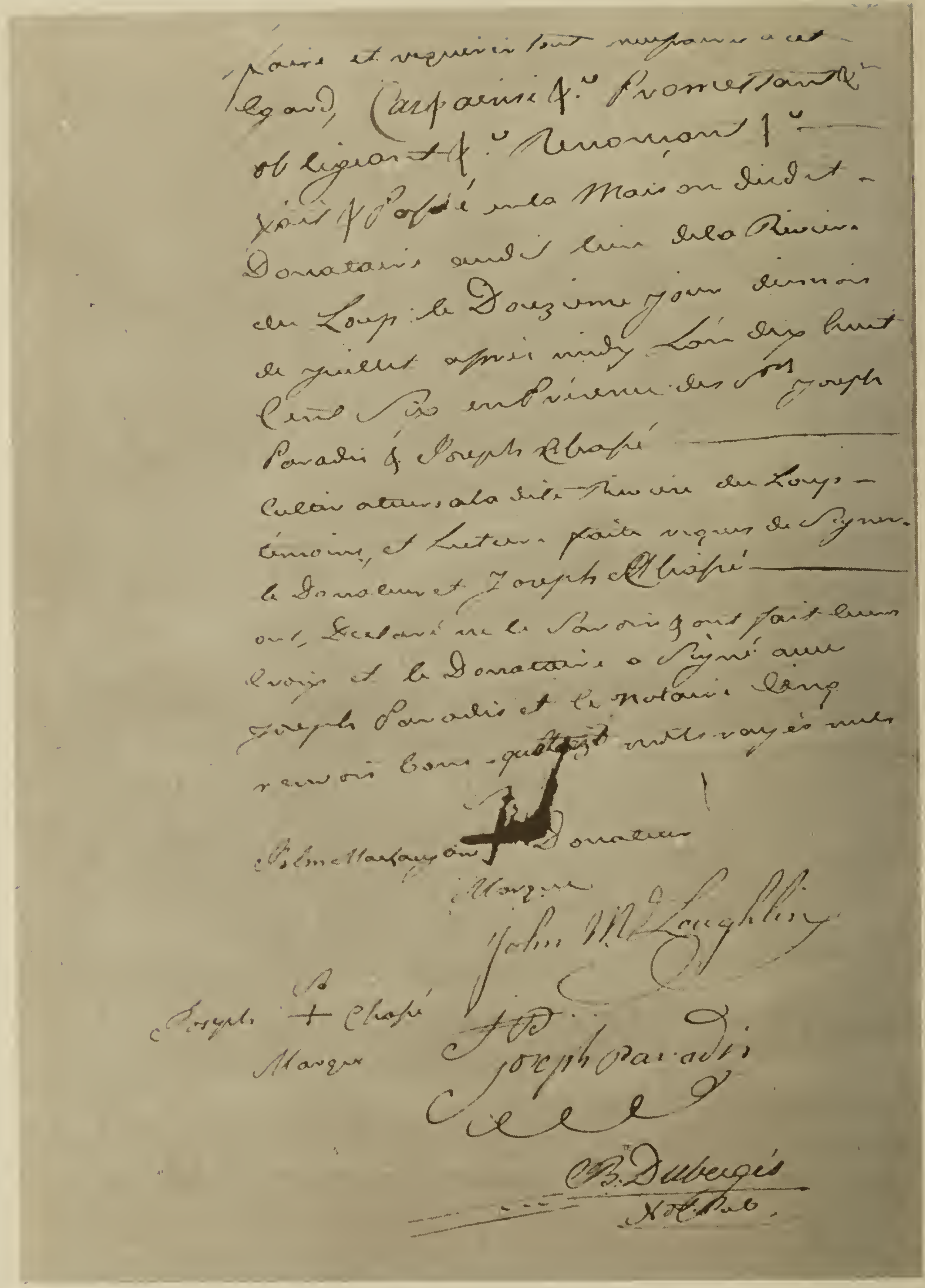
Copié
1548

8e May · 1804
Testament de Dame
Mary Short Epouse de
John McLaughlin

Minute

LAST PAGE OF THE WILL OF MARY SHORT
Paternal grandmother of Dr. John McLoughlin.
See Appendix II, Document 4.

Plate 14



faire et requerir tout necessaire a cet
egard, Car ainsi &c. Promettant &c.
obligeant &c. Renonçant &c.
Fait & passé en la Maison du dit
Donataire au dit lieu de la Riviere
du Loup le Douzieme jour du mois
de juillet après midy l'an dix huit
Cent Six en presence des Srs Joseph
Paradis & Joseph Chapé
Cultivateurs a la dite Riviere du Loup
temoins, et lecture faite requis de Signer
le Donateur et Joseph Chapé
ont, Declaré ne le Savoir font fait leurs
croix et le Donataire a Signé avec
Joseph Paradis et le notaire. Cinq
renvois bons - quatre mots rayés nuls

Pl. McLaughlin + Donateur
Marque

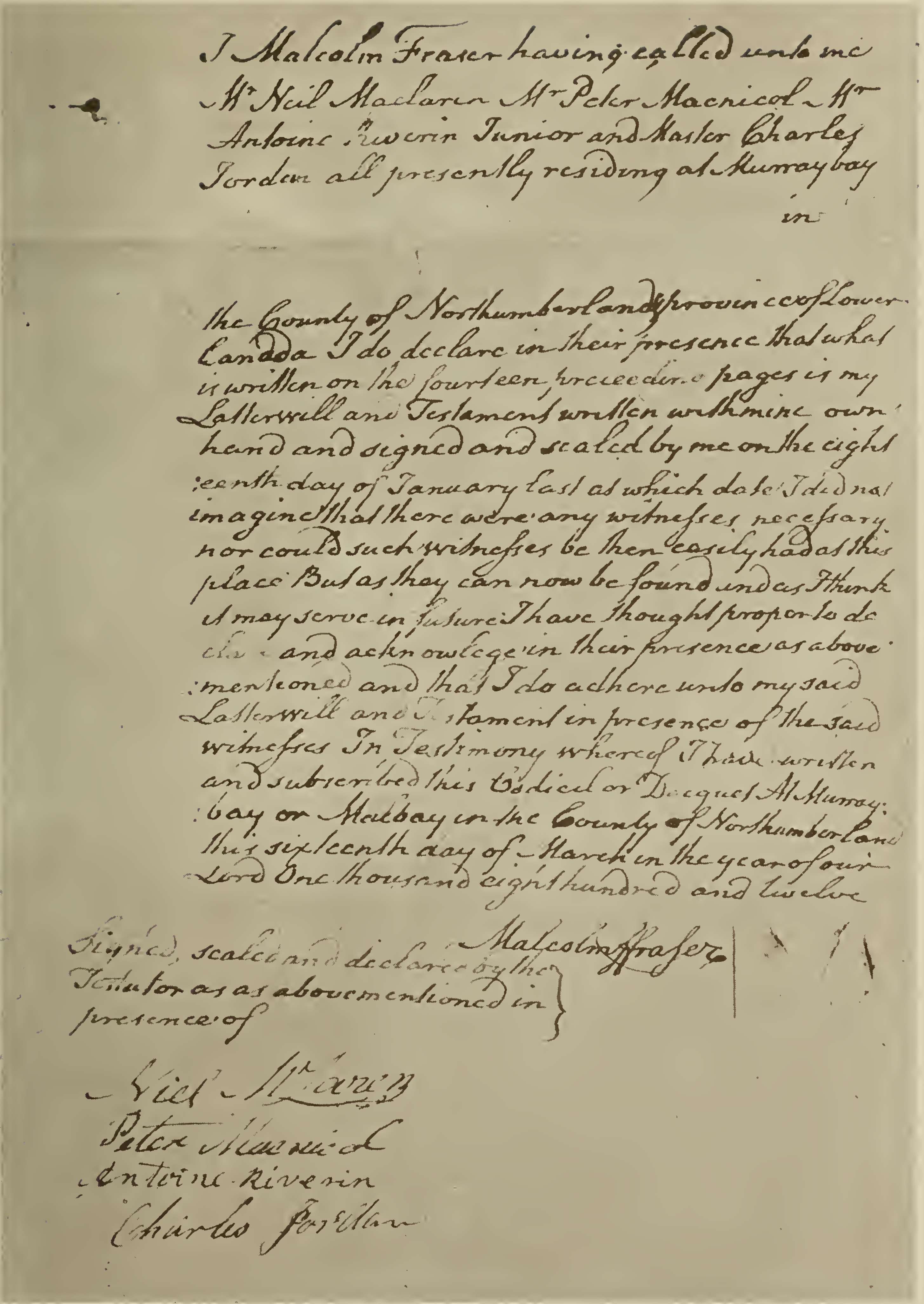
John McLoughlin

Joseph + Chapé
Marque

Joseph Paradis

B. Dubergès
Not. Pub.

Last Page of the Deed of Gift from the Grandfather to the Father of Dr. John McLoughlin
See Appendix II, Document 5.



I Malcolm Fraser having called unto me Mr Neil Maclaren Mr Peter Macnicol Mr Antoine Riverin Junior and Master Charles Jordan all presently residing at Murraybay in

the County of Northumberland province of Lower Canada I do declare in their presence that what is written on the fourteen preceeding pages is my Latter will and Testament written with mine own hand and signed and sealed by me on the eighteenth day of January last at which date I did not imagine that there were any witnesses necessary nor could such witnesses be then easily had at this place But as they can now be found and as I think it may serve in future I have thought proper to declare and acknowlege in their presence as abovementioned and that I do adhere unto my said Latter will and Testament in presence of the said witnesses In Testimony whereof I have written and subscribed this Codicil or Docquet At Murray:bay or Malbay in the County of Northumberland this sixteenth day of March in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and twelve

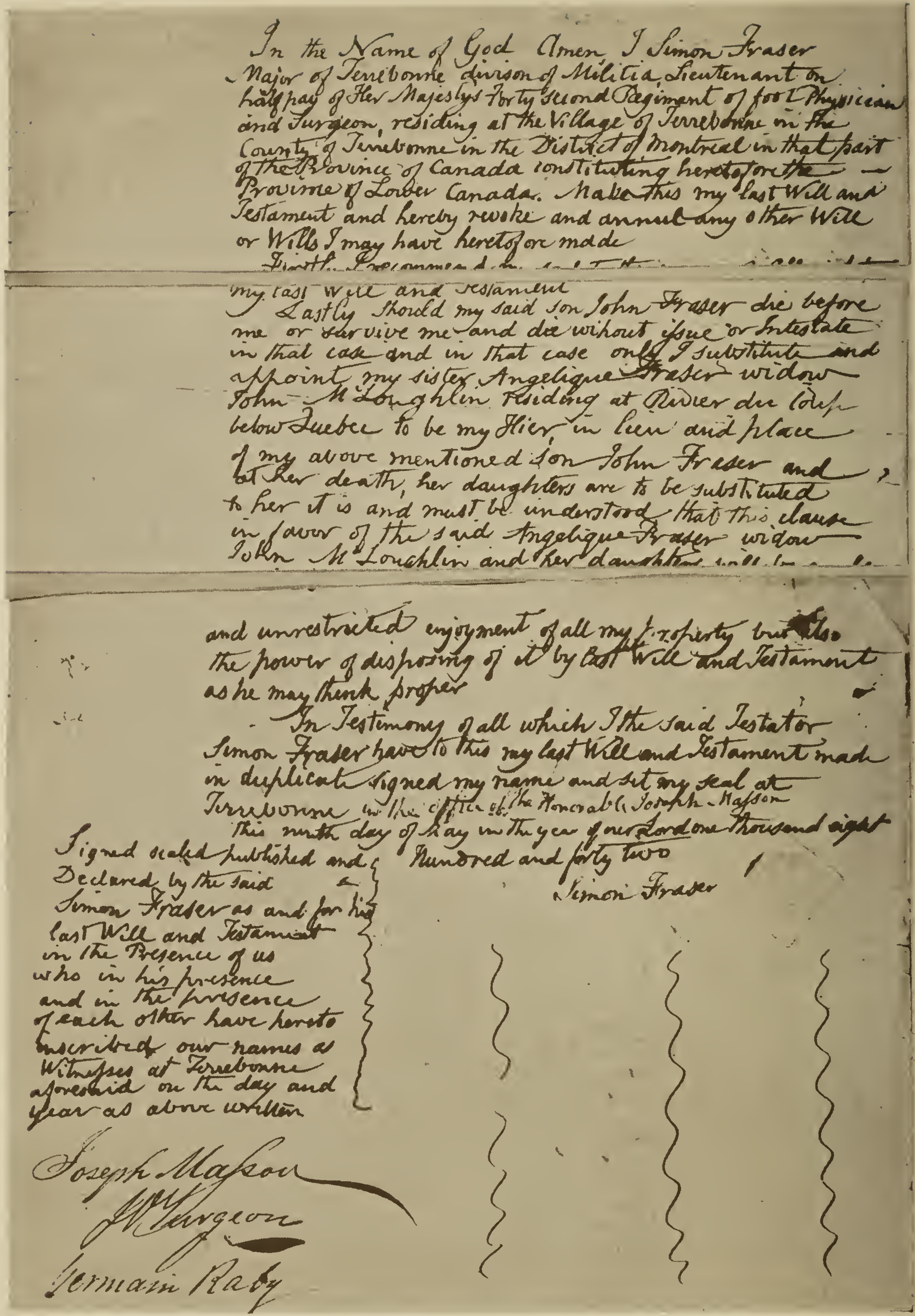
Malcolm Fraser

Signed, sealed and declared by the Testator as as abovementioned in presence of

Niel McLaren
Peter Macnicol
Antoine Riverin
Charles Jordan

PORTIONS OF THE WILL OF MALCOLM FRASER
See Appendix II, Document 6.

Plate 16



In the Name of God Amen I Simon Fraser Major of Terrebonne divison of Militia, Lieutenant on half pay of Her Majestys Forty second Regiment of foot Physician and Surgeon, residing at the Village of Terrebonne in the County of Terrebonne in the District of Montreal in that part of the Province of Canada constituting heretofore the Province of Lower Canada. Make this my last Will and Testament and hereby revoke and annul any other Will or Wills I may have heretofore made

Firstly I recommend [illegible]

my last Will and Testament

Lastly Should my said son John Fraser die before me or survive me and die wihout issue or Intestate in that case and in that case only I substitute and appoint my sister Angelique Fraser widow John M^c Loughlin residing at Rivier du Loup below Quebec to be my Hier, in lieu and place of my above mentioned son John Fraser and at her death, her daughters are to be substituted to her it is and must be understood that this clause in favor of the said Angelique Fraser widow John M^c Loughlin and her daughters [illegible]

and unrestricted enjoyment of all my property but also the power of disposing of it by last Will and Testament as he may think proper

In Testimony of all which I the said Testator Simon Fraser have to this my last Will and Testament made in duplicate signed my name and set my seal at Terrebonne in the office of the Honorable Joseph Masson this ninth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty two

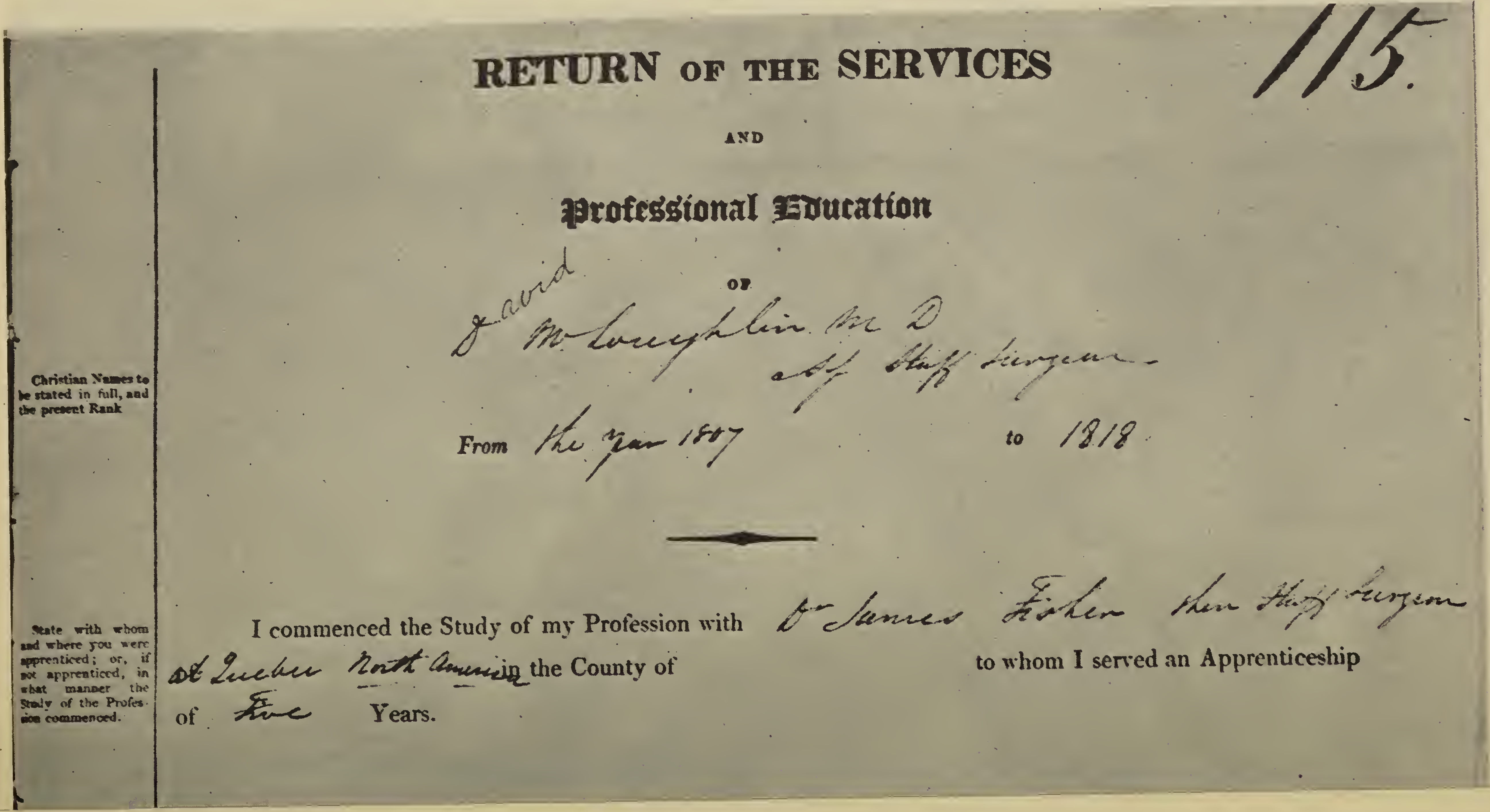
Simon Fraser

Signed sealed published and Declared by the said Simon Fraser as and for his last Will and Testament in the Presence of us who in his presence and in the presence of each other have hereto inscribed our names as Witnesses at Terrebonne aforesaid on the day and year as above written

Joseph Masson
J. Sturgeon
Germain Raby

Portions of the Will of Dr. Simon Fraser
See Appendix II, Document 8.

See Appendix II, Document 7.



115.

RETURN OF THE SERVICES

AND

Professional Education

OF

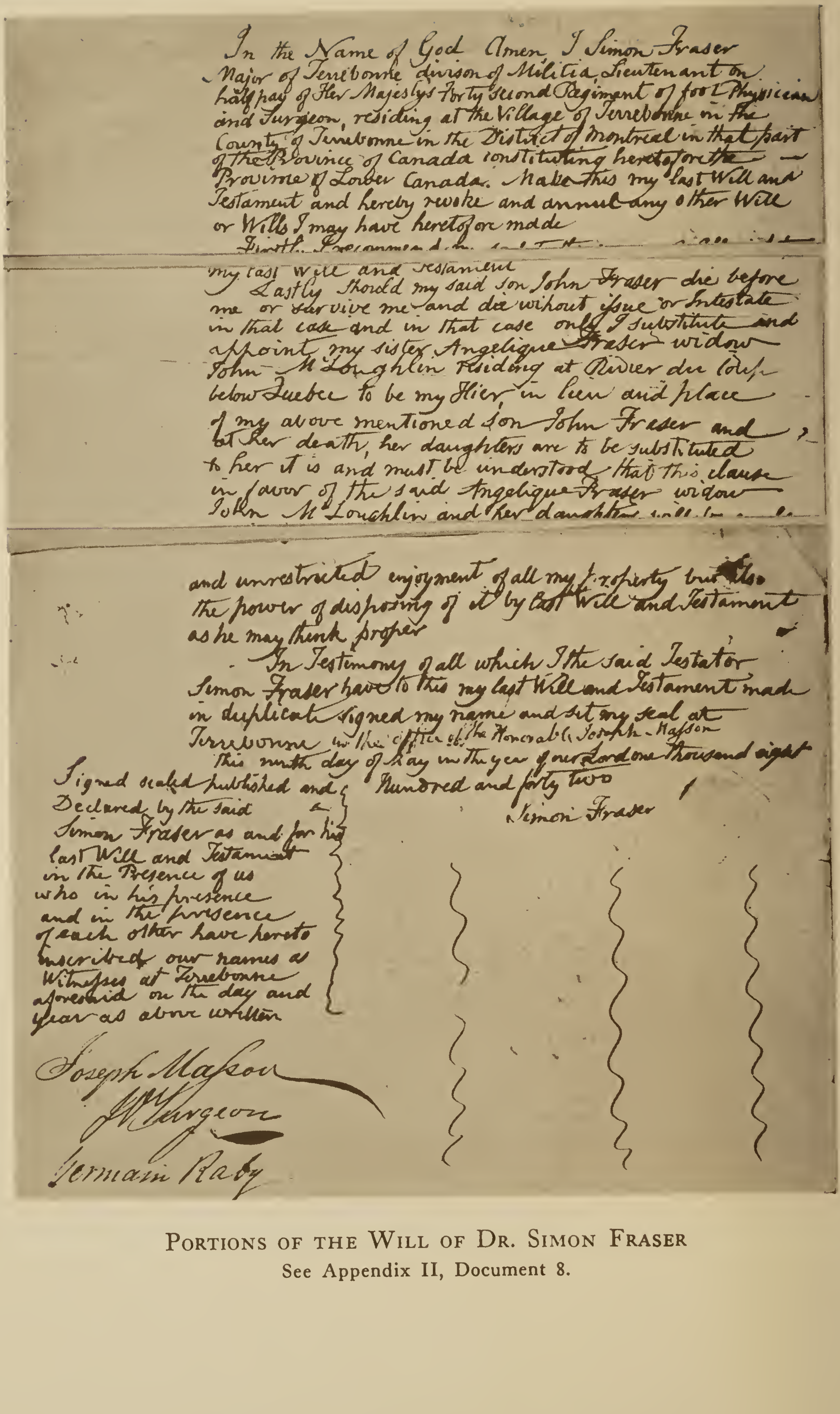
David McLoughlin M D
Asst Staff Surgeon

Christian Names to be stated in full, and the present Rank

From the year 1807 to 1818

I commenced the Study of my Profession with Dr James Fisher then Staff Surgeon at Quebec North America in the County of to whom I served an Apprenticeship of Five Years.

State with whom and where you were apprenticed; or, if not apprenticed, in what manner the Study of the Profession commenced.



In the Name of God Amen I Simon Fraser
Major of Terrebonne division of Militia, Lieutenant on
half pay of Her Majestys Forty second Regiment of foot Physician
and Surgeon, residing at the Village of Terrebonne in the
County of Terrebonne in the District of Montreal in that part
of the Province of Canada constituting heretofore the —
Province of Lower Canada. Make this my last Will and
Testament and hereby revoke and annul any other Will
or Wills I may have heretofore made
Firstly I recommend my [illegible]

my last Will and Testament
Lastly Should my said son John Fraser die before
me or survive me and die without issue or Intestate
in that case and in that case only I substitute and
appoint my sister Angelique Fraser widow
John McLoughlin Residing at Rivier du Loup
below Quebec to be my Hier, in lieu and place
of my above mentioned son John Fraser and
at her death, her daughters are to be substituted
to her it is and must be understood that this clause
in favor of the said Angelique Fraser widow
John McLoughlin and her daughters will [illegible]

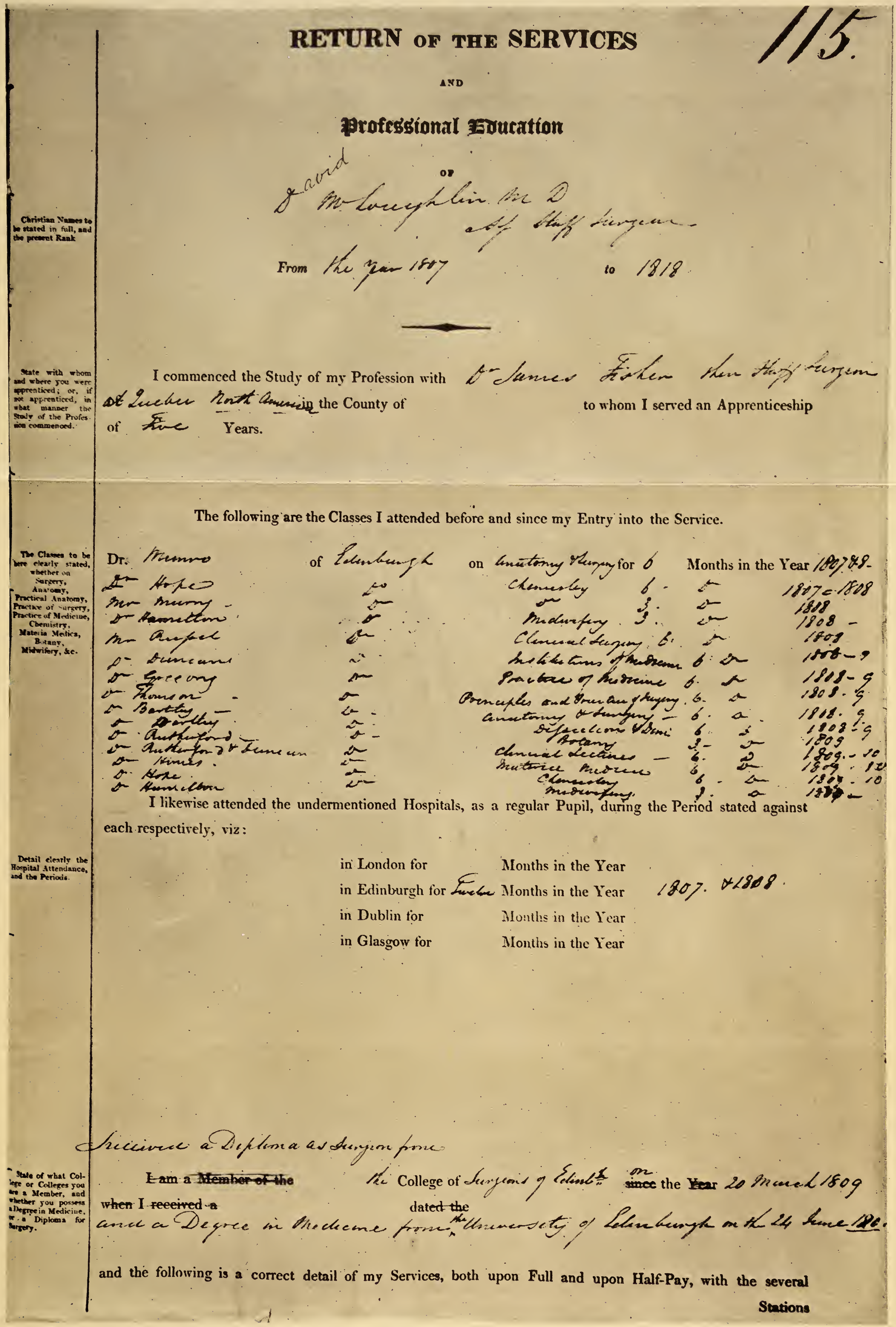
and unrestricted enjoyment of all my property but also
the power of disposing of it by last Will and Testament
as he may think proper
In Testimony of all which I the said Testator
Simon Fraser have to this my last Will and Testament made
in duplicate signed my name and set my seal at
Terrebonne in the office of the Honorable Joseph Masson
this ninth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight
Hundred and forty two
Simon Fraser

Signed sealed published and
Declared by the said
Simon Fraser as and for his
last Will and Testament
in the Presence of us
who in his presence
and in the presence
of each other have hereto
inscribed our names as
Witnesses at Terrebonne
aforesaid on the day and
year as above written

Joseph Masson
J W Turgeon
Germain Raby

Portions of the Will of Dr. Simon Fraser
See Appendix II, Document 8.

See Appendix II, Document 7.



115.

RETURN OF THE SERVICES

AND

Professional Education

OF

David McLoughlin M.D.
Asst Staff Surgeon

From the year 1807 to 1818

Christian Names to be stated in full, and the present Rank

State with whom and where you were apprenticed; or, if not apprenticed, in what manner the Study of the Profession commenced.

I commenced the Study of my Profession with Dr James Fisher then Staff Surgeon at Quebec North America in the County of to whom I served an Apprenticeship of Five Years.

The following are the Classes I attended before and since my Entry into the Service.

The Classes to be here clearly stated, whether on Surgery, Anatomy, Practical Anatomy, Practice of Surgery, Practice of Medicine, Chemistry, Materia Medica, Botany, Midwifery, &c.

Dr. Munro	of Edinburgh	on Anatomy & Surgery	for 6	Months in the Year	1807/8-
Dr Hope	Do	Chemistry	6	Do	1807 & 1808
Mr Murray	Do	Do	3	Do	1808
Dr Hamilton	Do	Midwifery	3	Do	1808 -
Mr Russel	Do	Clinical Surgery	6	Do	1808
Dr Duncan	Do	Institutions of Medicine	6	Do	1808-9
Dr Gregory	Do	Practice of Medicine	6	Do	1808-9
Dr Thomson	Do	Principles and Practice of Surgery	6	Do	1808-9
Dr Barclay	Do	Anatomy & Surgery	6	Do	1808-9
Dr Barclay	Do	Dissections & Demi	6	Do	1808-9
Dr Rutherford	Do	Botany	3	Do	1809
Dr Rutherford & Duncan	Do	Clinical Lectures	6	Do	1809-10
Dr Home	Do	Materia Medica	6	Do	1809-10
Dr Hope	Do	Chemistry	6	Do	1809-10
Dr Hamilton	Do	Midwifery	3	Do	1809 -

I likewise attended the undermentioned Hospitals, as a regular Pupil, during the Period stated against each respectively, viz:

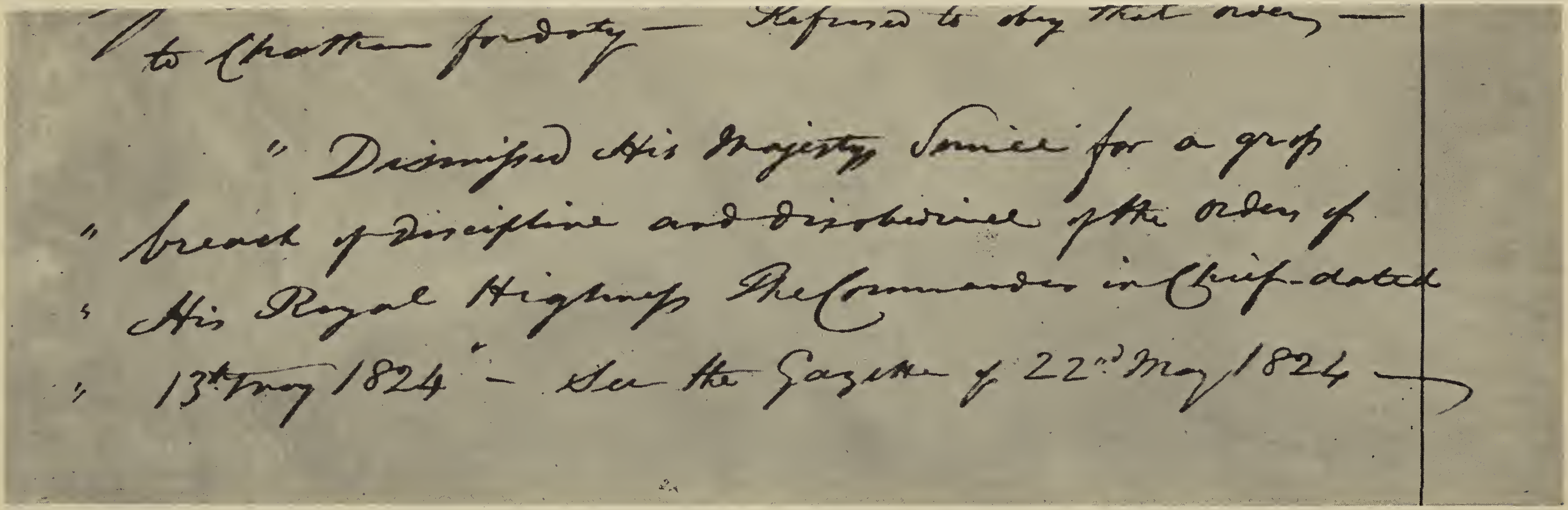
Detail clearly the Hospital Attendance, and the Periods.

in London for Months in the Year
in Edinburgh for Twelve Months in the Year 1807 & 1808.
in Dublin for Months in the Year
in Glasgow for Months in the Year

State of what College or Colleges you are a Member, and whether you possess a Degree in Medicine, or a Diploma for Surgery.

I received a Diploma as Surgeon from
~~I am~~ a ~~Member of the~~ the College of Surgeons of Edinbh on ~~since~~ the ~~Year~~ 20 March 1809
when I ~~received a~~ dated ~~the~~
and a Degree in Medicine from the University of Edinburgh on the 24 June 1810.

and the following is a correct detail of my Services, both upon Full and upon Half-Pay, with the several Stations



/ to Chatham for duty — Refused to obey that order —

" Dismissed His Majesty Service for a gross
" breach of discipline and disobedience of the orders of
" His Royal Highness The Commander in Chief dated
" 13th May 1824" — See the Gazette of 22nd May 1824 —

Appendix II
McLoughlin and Fraser Family Documents

1. LEASE OF HENRY CALDWELL[1]

In the presence — of Mr. Malcolm Fraser & Jean McLoughlin — was present Mr.— Henry Caldwell — Esquire, Seignior of the Seigniories of Côte Lauzon, and other places, who has by these Presents leased and conceded, gives and concedes in consideration of Quit-rent and non-redeemable seigniorial and ground Rents, from now and forever, promised and promises to guarantee from troubles and hindrance in general whatsoever, to — François Tannau inhabitant of Rivière du Loup — being present and accepting Lessee and Holder, of the said title, for himself, his heirs and assigns, in the future, that is to wit: — A [parcel of] Land located and situated on the first line of the said Seigniory of four Arpents or thereabouts of frontage by forty Arpents in depth at present wild land ....
bounded on one side — at the Southwest by François Marquis ....
and on the other — at the North East by Ignace Bellanger ....
at one end in front by — the St. Lawrence River ....
and at the other in rear — by unconceded lands ....
thus (that) the said Land extends and comprises; and that the said Lessee says he knows well and has knowledge of, and is content and satisfied with; under the leasing control of the Seigniory of — Rivière du Loup — and in relation to the Domain of the aforesaid, charged by these Presents at the Sum of — three Livres or — Shillings currency of the Province for each arpent, and Five Sols of Quit-rent for the said — 4 Arpents — arpents, the whole of Quit-rent and Seigniorial Rents, [to be] payable each year, on the day and holy-day of St. Remy, first of October, of which the first payment shall commence October the first,— Seventeen Hundred and seventy-six ....

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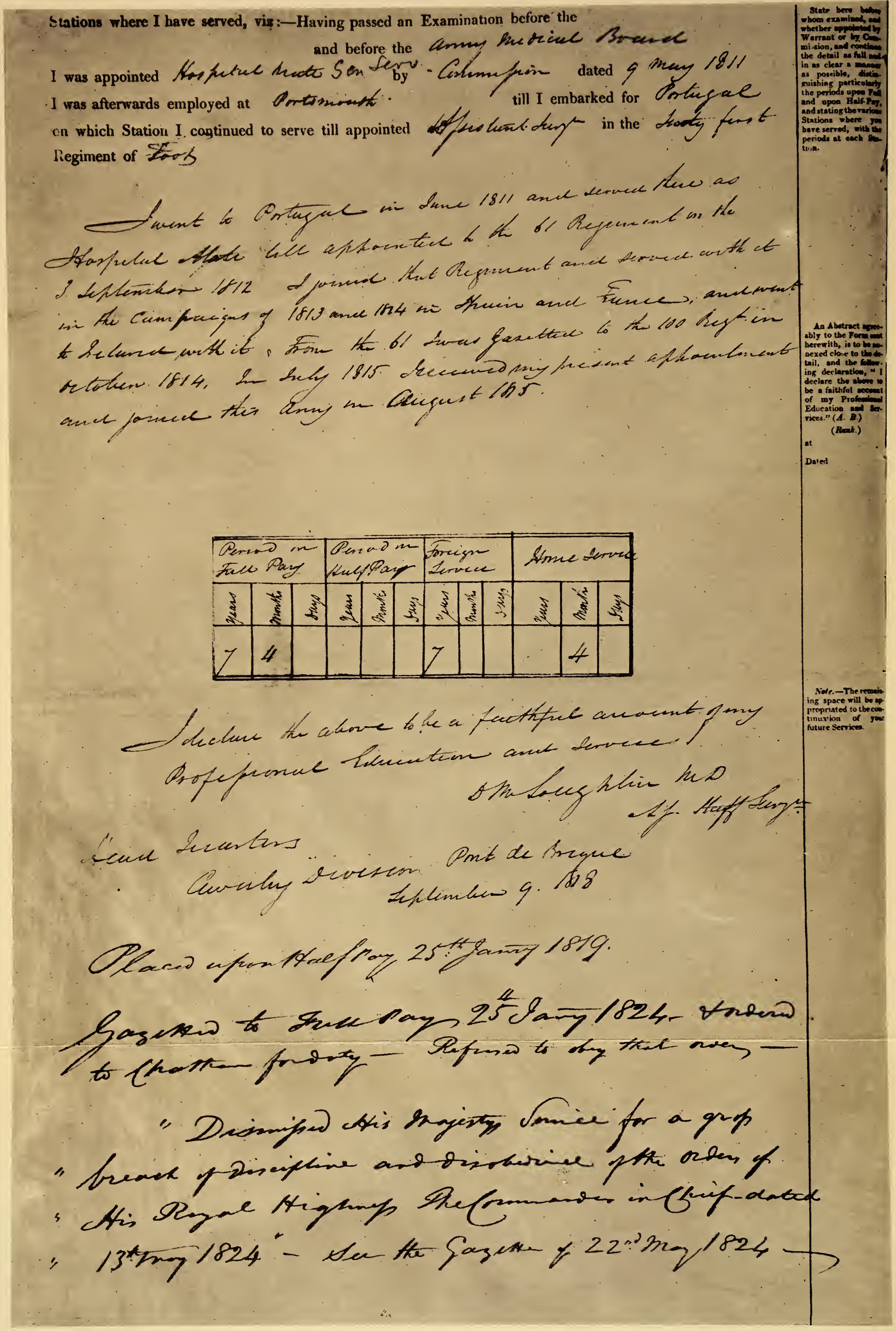
[1] Translation from the original at the McLoughlin Memorial Association, Oregon City, Oregon.



Stations where I have served, viz:—Having passed an Examination before the and before the Army Medical Board

I was appointed Hospital Mate Gen Serv. by Commission dated 9 May 1811

I was afterwards employed at Portsmouth till I embarked for Portugal

on which Station I continued to serve till appointed Assistant Surgn in the Sixty first Regiment of Foot

I went to Portugal in June 1811 and served there as Hospital Mate till appointed to the 61 Regiment on the 3 September 1812 I joined that Regiment and served with it in the Campaigns of 1813 and 1814 in Spain and France, and went to Ireland with it. From the 61 I was Gazetted to the 100 Regt. in October 1814. In July 1815 I received my present appointment and joined this Army in August 1815.

Period on Full Pay			Period on Half Pay			Foreign Service			Home Service		
Years	Months	Days	Years	Months	Days	Years	Months	Days	Years	Months	Days
7	4					7				4	

I declare the above to be a faithful account of my Professional Education and Services.

D McLoughlin MD
Asst. Staff Surgn.

Head Quarters
Cavalry Division Pont de Brique
September 9. 1818

Placed upon Half Pay 25th Jany 1819.

Gazetted to Full Pay 25^{4} Jany 1824 & ordered to Chatham for duty — Refused to obey that order —

" Dismissed His Majesty's Service for a gross
" breach of discipline and disobedience of the orders of
" His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief dated
" 13th May 1824" — See the Gazette of 22nd May 1824 —

State here before whom examined, and whether appointed by Warrant or by Commission, and continue the detail as full and in as clear a manner as possible, distinguishing particularly the periods upon Full and upon Half-Pay, and stating the various Stations where you have served, with the periods at each Station.

An Abstract agreeably to the Form sent herewith, is to be annexed close to the detail, and the following declaration, "I declare the above to be a faithful account of my Professional Education and Services." (A. B.)
(Rank.)
at
Dated

Note.—The remaining space will be appropriated to the continuation of your future Services.

Appendix II

McLoughlin and Fraser Family Documents

1. LEASE OF HENRY CALDWELL[1]

In the presence — of Mr. Malcolm Fraser & Jean McLoughlin — was present Mr.— Henry Caldwell — Esquire, Seignior of the Seigniories of Côte Lauzon, and other places, who has by these Presents leased and conceded, gives and concedes in consideration of Quit-rent and non-redeemable seigniorial and ground Rents, from now and forever, promised and promises to guarantee from troubles and hindrance in general whatsoever, to — François Tannau inhabitant of Rivière du Loup — being present and accepting Lessee and Holder, of the said title, for himself, his heirs and assigns, in the future, that is to wit: — A [parcel of] Land located and situated on the first line of the said Seigniory of four Arpents or thereabouts of frontage by forty Arpents in depth at present wild land ....
bounded on one side — at the Southwest by François Marquis ....
and on the other — at the North East by Ignace Bellanger ....
at one end in front by — the St. Lawrence River ....
and at the other in rear — by unconceded lands ....
thus (that) the said Land extends and comprises; and that the said Lessee says he knows well and has knowledge of, and is content and satisfied with; under the leasing control of the Seigniory of — Rivière du Loup — and in relation to the Domain of the aforesaid, charged by these Presents at the Sum of — three Livres or — Shillings currency of the Province for each arpent, and Five Sols of Quit-rent for the said — 4 Arpents — arpents, the whole of Quit-rent and Seigniorial Rents, [to be] payable each year, on the day and holy-day of St. Remy, first of October, of which the first payment shall commence October the first,— Seventeen Hundred and seventy-six ....

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[1] Translation from the original at the McLoughlin Memorial Association, Oregon City, Oregon.

and shall continue from then henceforth at the same term in perpetuity.

……

……

Also one day of Corvée, with a harness, at the request of my said Seignior, Lessor, each and every year, for each Concession of three arpents by thirty, the said Corvée to begin in the course of this year.

The said Quit-rent carrying liability of Transfer Charges, default seizure, and penalty, when the case thereof will fall due; with all the other Seigniorial Rights, in conformance with the original title of the said Seigniory.

The said Concession subject to the [grist] Mills of the aforesaid, on pain of confiscation of the said grain and of payment to the Miller [of] the grinding dues of the grain he will have had ground elsewhere.

My said Seignior, Lessor, reserving Right of Redemption, in conformance with the ancient usages of this country.

It shall also be permissible and allowable for him to take on the said Land the Wood necessary for the construction of Churches, Presbyteries, Mills, and Seigniorial Manors, without paying anything whatsoever to the said Lessee, his heirs and assigns, who likewise will be held to tolerate, on the said Land all the Roads and Bridges that the said Seignior, Lessor, will judge useful and necessary, or which may otherwise be ordered, and to maintain them in good condition.

To give access to his neighbors, as soon as they request it; the said Lessee to dwell there by the year and day of the date of these Presents; to work there and improve each year, the space of five years, two arpents of land, on pain of nullity of these Presents, and the said Land to be returned to the Domain of the said Seigniory.

For the said Land, above-conceded, to enjoy, make and dispose of, by the said Lessee, his heirs and assigns, under Commoner's condition, in all proprietorship thereof by means of these Presents.

To all the above the said Lessee submits, promises and obligates himself, to lease and to pay the said Quit-rent and Rents to my said Seignior, Lessor, at his place of collection to his Receiver or duly authorized Agent, each and every year: For thus, &c. promising, &c. obligating, &c. renouncing, &c. Done and passed — At Rivière du Loup this 25 March seventeen hundred and seventy-five reading made and two lines struck out as null.

Witnesses HENRY CALDWELL
MALCOLM FRASER
JOHN McLOUGHLIN

2. ORIGINAL LETTER OF JOHN McLOUGHLIN

The original of this letter of the father of Dr. John McLoughlin is in the archives of the McLoughlin Memorial Association, Oregon City, Oregon. It is printed as Letter 1 in Appendix 1. Also see reproduction of this letter as Plate 1 (page 259).

3. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN'S PETITION AND PERMIT TO PRACTICE MEDICINE

These documents, with the affidavit of Dr. James Fisher, are in the Public Archives, Ottawa, Canada. They are reproduced herein as Plates 10, 11, and 12 (pages 268-70).

4. WILL OF MARY SHORT[2]

Last will of Mrs. John McLaughline
May 8, 1804

Before the undersigned Notary Public in the province of Lower Canada, residing in the parish of St. Louis de Camouraska, in the county of Cornwallis, and the witnesses hereinafter named and undersigned –

Appeared Mary Short, wife of John MacLaughline Senior, former farmer residing in the parish of St. Patrice, Seigniory of Rivière du Loup in the said county – who, in the south-west room of the house – and being sound of body, mind, judgment and hearing as it appeared to Bernard Dubergés, Notary above-mentioned and undersigned, and to Malcolm Fraser Esquire, and Malcolm Grant, farmer at the said Rivière du Loup, all three being requested by the said appearant and present for the execution of this her last will, which she made, declared and dictated to them as follows –

Firstly, the said Mary Short, wife of John

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[2] Translation from the original in the House of Justice at Rivière du Loup, Canada. See illustration, Plate 13 (page 271).

MacLaughline, the testatrix, as a good Roman Catholic and Apostolic Christian has commended her soul to God and prayed His divine mercy to forgive her sins and trespasses, and, after her decease, to receive her soul in His Holy Paradise by the merits of the passion and death of Our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ by the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary, her patron saint, and of all the saints in the abode of the blessed

Secondly, the said Marie Short, wife of John MacLaughlin, the testatrix, wishes and orders that all her debts be paid and her wrongs redressed, if any at the time of her decease, by her executor or executors hereinafter named

Thirdly, the said Mary Short, the testatrix, wishes and desires to be buried in consecrated ground[A]

[A] with a church service the day before her funeral and that twenty low masses of requiem be said as soon as possible after her decease for the repose of her soul
M ff
M G
B:D
N.P.

Fourthly, the said Mary Short, the testatrix, gives, devises and bequeaths in full ownership and forever to John MacLaughline, her dearly beloved[O] son born of her present marriage, farmer residing in the said parish of St. Patrice, the title she may have by her right of community or otherwise to a tract of land having a frontage of two arpents and a depth of forty arpents situate in the first concession of the said parish of St. Patrice, bounded in front on the south-west by the Rivière du Loup and at the rear, by the end of the said depth, on the north by Peter Fraser, Esquire, and on the south by Corneilius MacLaughline, with all buildings and appurtenances, upon the condition that he shall take possession thereof only after the death of John MacLaughlin senior, if he survives the testatrix herein, and then he shall also pay the Seigniorial taxes[B]

[O] eldest
M ff
M G
B:D
N.P.

[B] and then the titles concerning the said two arpents frontage will be handed to him –
M ff
M G
B:D
N.P

Fifthly, the said testatrix taking advantage of the right conferred upon her by the Act of the

British Parliament of the fourteenth year of the reign of His Majesty George III, Chapter eighty-three, and more particularly the Provincial Statutes of Lower Canada of the first session of the third Provincial Parliament of the forty-first year of the reign of His Majesty aforesaid, chapter four,–

Gives, devises and bequeaths in full ownership and forever the residue of all her real and personal property, separate or acquired in common, wheresoever situate, in whatever hands it may be and of whatsoever nature and importance, to Corneillius MacLaughline, her dearly beloved son also born of her present marriage, farmer also residing in the said parish of St. Patrice, and appoints him her residuary legatee without any limitation nor restriction, to reward him of the friendship he has always shown, for his care and the trouble he has taken for many years to provide her with the necessary comforts of life – upon the express condition that the said residuary legatee[3] [*shall comply only but strictly if he has not already or then done so, with all the clauses, conditions, obligations and reservations to which he has voluntarily agreed by the deed of gift made jointly in his favour by the said testatrix and the said John MacLaughline, her husband, before the above mentioned Notary and the undersigned witnesses on the fifth day of this month. And lastly the said Mary wishes and desires*] to pay and deliver to John MacLaughline Senior, husband of the said testatrix, and to Anne MacLaughline, her daughter, residing at the said Rivière du Loup, a life annuity and annual pension during their lifetime as follows, twenty-eight bushels of good and merchantable wheat, one hundred and sixty-seven pounds of heavy pork, ten gallons of rum, two pounds of tea, two pounds of pepper, thirty-three pounds of butter, and to provide them with clothing, heat, hats, shoes, light, and to give them proper care in health as well as in sickness and according to their condition, and upon their decease, to give them a recent burial, to have AE *[twenty]* low masses said for the repose of the soul of Anne MacLaughline; further to provide the said Anne MacLaughline during her lifetime with a milch-cow, and upon the decease of either, the aforesaid annuity shall be reduced by half;AD and further to bring them to and from divine service in seasonal carriages and at their request

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[3] The italicized words, shown in brackets in this document, are struck out in the original copy.

lodging
M ff
M G
B:D
N.P.

AE ten
M ff
M G
B:D
N.P

AD and upon the decease of the last survivor, the said annuity shall become entirely extinct and be kept for the benefit of the said residuary legatee
M ff
M G
B:D
N.P.

And lastly to have five low masses of requiem said for the repose of the soul of the late Honoré MacLaughline, and the said testatrix wishes and desires that John Caldwell Esquire, Barrister residing at Quebec, be her executor, requesting him to accept this function as an expression of friendship relying entirely upon him and relinquishing into his hands all the said property according to custom, so and thus the said testatrix has declared and dictated to the Notary and witnesses aforesaid, revoking all wills or codicils heretofore made by her contrary to these presents, and desiring these presents to have full and complete force as being her last will and the expression of her last wishes and the only one on which she relies absolutely, at twelve o'clock noon on the eighth day of the month of May in the year one thousand eight hundred and four in the above-mentioned room, which was read and re-read to the said testatrix who adhered to same and wishes same to be strictly carried out and requested to sign, she H *[did so with]* the witnesses

H declared to be unable to do so and made her mark and
M ff
M G
B:D
N.P.

1B have signed at her express request
M ff
M G
B:D
N.P.

and the Notary, 1B six additions good, eighty-six words struck out – two other additions good, three other words struck out

her
MARY x SHORT testatrix
mark

MALCOLM FFRASER
MALCOLM GRANT

B: Dubergés
Not. Pub.

May 8, 1804
Last Will of Mary Short
Wife of John MacLaughline Senior
Minute

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5. DEED OF GIFT OF LAND TO CULTIVATEUR JOHN McLOUGHLIN[4]

DEED OF GIFT
July 12, 1806

Before the undersigned Notary Public in the province of Lower Canada,[5] [*in the province of Lower Canada*], & residing in the parish of St-Louis, seigniory of Camouraska, in the county of Cornwallis,H

H And the witnesses hereinafter named and undersigned
J McL
J P
B:D
N.P.

Appeared John MacLaughlin Senior, former farmer residing in the parish of St. Patrice, Seigniory of Rivière du Loup, in the said country and on the first concession road of the said place, who, by their presents, with a promise of guarantee against all trouble, mortgages or other charges whatsoever, gives assigns, and transfers, now and forever, and in the best form and manner that a gift *inter vivos* can be made and be effective, without any desire nor power to revoke same except for legal purposes, unto John MacLaughlin, his eldest son, farmer residing in the hereinafter named parish, the donee being present and accepting for himself, his heirs and assigns in the future, that is to say,—

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[4] Translation from the original in the House of Justice, Rivière du Loup, Canada. See illustration, Plate 14 (page 272).

[5] The italicized words, shown in brackets in this document, are struck out in the original copy.

A tract of land having a frontage of three arpents and a depth of forty arpents, running north-east and south-west – bounded in front, on the south-west side, by the Rivière du Loup; at the rear, on the north-east side, by the end of the said depth; on the north-west, by the south-east side by the representatives of Mary Short, and on [*John*] Jean Chassé, with the structures that may be erected, thereon, hunting and fishing rights if any, including all buildings & appurtenances, of which the said donee declares to have knowledge and cognizance for having seen and inspected them and being content and satisfied of same, devolving upon the said donor by virtue of his right of community with the said Mary Short, his wife, and the title deeds of which he agrees to hand over to the said donee upon his first acquisition, Further he gives him under the same acceptance the fair half of all the animals of whatsoever description, household furniture, home utensils and farm implements,[H] now belonging to him and which might belong to him on the day of his decease, of whatsoever nature and importance and wheresoever situate, the said donee declaring to have knowledge and cognizance of the three arpents of land abovementioned for having seen and inspected them and being content and satisfied of same. The aforesaid deed of gift is made with the following obligations, clauses and conditions, namely, the said donee shall pay, in the future and even for the past, the seigniorial taxes and rents on the said three arpents of land, the real amount due to be declared as between the said parties.

Secondly,[B] to pay and deliver to the donor and

[H] and of all moveables whatsoever

J McL

Jo P

B:D

N.P.

[B] to pay further to Malcolm Fraser, Esquire, six piastres on behalf of the donee

J. Mc L

J P

B:D

N P.

to Miss Marie Anne MacLaughlin, daughter of the said donor,[M] a life annuity and annual pension during their lifetime as follows, twenty-eight bushels of good and merchantable wheat in flour form, two hundred pounds of heavy pork, ten gallons of rum, two pounds of tea, two pounds of pepper, thirty-three pounds of butter, to provide them with clothing, beds, lodging, heat, hats, light, and to give them care in health as well as in sickness, according to their condition, and to provide them wine in sickness,[A] [O] and upon their decease to give them a decent burial, to have forty low masses of requiem said (even before his decease if possible) for the repose of the soul of the donor.

& and to have twenty other low masses of requiem said for the repose of the soul of Marie Anne MacLaughlin [*for the repose of her soul*] before her decease if possible, and upon the decease of the first of them, the aforesaid annuity shall be reduced by half with the exception of the care, lodging, light, heat & other accessories – & upon the decease of the last survivor, such annuity shall be entirely extinct and consolidated for and to benefit of the said donee, his heirs and assigns forever.

And in consideration whereof the said donor relinquishes all that he has already given and vests the said donee with same to enjoy, do and dispose of as from this day & forever, including his heirs and assigns, as their true and lawful property under these presents and as they shall deem fit

And for the purpose of registering these presents, the parties authorize the holder of a copy to do and demand all that is necessary in the premises, thereby promising &c undertaking &c abandoning &c executed at the home of the said donee at Rivière du Loup aforesaid in the afternoon of the twelfth day of the month of July in the year eighteen hundred and six, in the presence

[M] residing at the said place

J. Mc L
J P.
B:D
N.P.

[A] and to furnish the donor with a complete suit made of European material, once and for all & at the request of the said donor, a hat and a pair of French shoes every year, a silk handkerchief every year, as well as snuff tobacco and smoking tobacco when needed

J. Mc L
J P
B:D
N P

[O] to give Marie Anne a coat once and for all, a pair of English shoes every year and for donor and the said Marie Anne MacLaughlin a horse and seasonal carriage when needed

J. Mc L
J P
B:D
N.P

of Joseph Paradis & Joseph Chassé, farmers, at the said Rivière du Loup, witnesses, and after reading, the donor and Joseph Chassé were requested to sign but declared to be unable to do so & made their mark, and the donee signed with Joseph Paradis and the Notary. Five additions good, fourteen words struck out.

his
John MacLaughlin x Donor
mark
John McLaughlin

his
Joseph x Chassé
mark

Joseph Paradis
B: Dubergés
Not. Pub.

6. WILL OF MALCOLM FRASER[6]

In the Name of God Amen

I Malcolm Fraser Colonel of Division of Militia of Saint paul's bay in the County of Northumberland and province of Lower Canada and late Major in His Majestys Army Considering that I am far advanced in age though, thank God of perfect memory Do this eighteenth day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve Make and publish this my last Will and Testament in manner following to Witt I recommend my Soul to the mercy of Almighty God and I direct that my body may be committed to the Earth or water as it may happen, and with as little ceremony and expenses as may be consistent with decency. And as to my worldly Estate and property I dispose of the same in manner following Videlicet I direct that my lawful debts may be paid And thereafter I do Give and Devise my Estate of Mountmurray in the parish of Saint Etienne or Malbay in the County of Northumberland and in the province of Lower Canada in manner following I say that I Give and Devise to my son William Fraser a young man now at his Education in the city of Quebec my farm of Point Fraser or Pointe a Gase situated in the parish of Saint Etienne in the County of Northumberland and province of

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[6] The original is in the Archives Judiciaires, Palais de Justice, Quebec, Canada. See illustration, Plate 15 (page 273).

Lower Canada including the lot or piece of ground on Cape Fortin presently held on Lease by Alexis Ange Simard, together with the houses and all rights of fishing or other rights belonging to me on the said farm and which farm of Point Fraser is bounded on the Northwest by the farm of Comporté hereafter mentioned and on the South East by the River Saint Lawrence; on the West by the River Murray commonly called the River of Malbay, on the East by a lot of land belonging to and presently occupyed by Francois Savard at Lehue or Cape á l'aigle and by ungranted lands behind the Settlement of Cape a l' aigle and of which ungranted lands it is my wish that the said William Fraser shall take such part or portion as he may think proper to be added to and to make a part of the said farm of Pointe Fraser or Pointe a Gase but not to incroach on the settlement of Fraserville nor upon the farm of Comporté which are devised as hereafter mentioned to John Fraser

And I do also leave and bequeath to my said son William Fraser all the castle furniture and moveable effects that may be belonging to me on the said farm of Point fraser or Pointe a Gase at the time of my death And I do further Give and Devise unto my said son William Fraser and to his lawful heirs on the conditions hereafter mentioned all that part of my said Seigniory of Mountmurray lying and being in the said County of Northumberland and province of Lower Canada situated between the said farm of Comporté and the Rivière noir or black river together with all Seigniorial rights rents mills fisheries or other privileges belonging to that part of the said Seigniory and Estate of Mountmurray as presently held by me But in case of the decease of the said William Fraser without lawful issue It is my Will and I Give and Devise my said farm of Point Fraser together with the said part of the said Seigniory of Mountmurray unto my son John Fraser a young boy now at school in the city of Quebec and unto his lawful heirs and successors on the terms and conditions hereafter specifyed And for this reason It is my Will and intention that the said William Fraser shall freely hold the said farm and Estate during his life and that they shall descend to his lawful heirs But that he shall not have it in his power to sell or dispose of them in any other manner unless I may hereafter think proper to alter this part of my Will. And in as far as regars my farm and lands of Comporté as presently held on lease by Francois Bouillanc together with the farm held on lease by Joseph Dechèsne It is my Will and I Give and Devise those two farms those to my said son John Fraser now at school in Quebec and which said farms are bounded on the North west by the lots of land belonging to my daughter Anne now wife of Joseph Belanger merchant in the said parish of Saint Etienne and on the South East by the said farm of Point Fraser or Pointe a Gase On the West by the River Murray or river of Malbay and on the East and North East by the settlement called Fraserville or by ungranted lands V it is my wish that the said John Fraser shall take such part or portions, he may think proper to be added to and to make a part of the said farm of Comporté but without however incroaching on the said lands of Fraserville already granted nor upon the farms of Point fraser or other lands already devised to William Fraser And I do leave and Bequeath to my said John Fraser all the castle and moveable effects that may be belonging to me on the said farm of Comporté at the time of my death And I do further Give and Devise unto my said son John Fraser and unto his lawful heirs all that part of my said Seigniory of Mountmurray situated and bounded on the South East by the farm of point fraser or Pointe a Gase and the other lands already devised to William Fraser and extending to the bounds of the said Seigniory on the Northwest; and supposed to be nearly three leagues along the River Murray or River of Malbay including the said farm of Comporté and bounded on the South West by the River Murray and on the Northeast and East at the depth of three Leagues including the said settlement of Fraserville but not to incroach on the farm of Point Fraser of Pointe a Gase already devised to my said son William Fraser and who William is at liberty to take and add to the said farm of Point Fraser as much of the ungranted lands immediately to the Northeast or East behind it Point fraser as he may think proper, but not to incroach on the farm of Comporté nor upon the settlement of Fraserville And I do also Give and Devise to my said son John Fraser all seigniorial rights and rents belonging to me from the said settlement of Fraserville as well as from the other lands conceded by me within that part of my said Seigniory of Mountmurray now devised to him And I do also Give and Devise to the said John Fraser as much of the ungranted lands as will make unto him three leagues in depth from the river Murray and running to the Northeast and including the lands already conceded by me to sundry persons along the said river Murray to whose rents and other duties he the said John Fraser shall have right in future after my decease And I do specially Give and Devise to the said John Fraser the Gristmill together with the lot of land on which it is built And I do moreover Give and Devise to him the said John Fraser all the Sawmills with all rents and all other rights belonging to me within the bounds and limits now made over to him, on condition nevertheless that he shall be chargeable as hereafter mentioned But in the event of the decease of my said son John Fraser without lawful issue then and in that case I declare it to be my Will

V and of which
ungranted lands

that the said part of my estate now devised to him shall devolve on and become the property of my said son William and of his lawful heirs on the terms and conditions hereafter mentioned And for this reason It is my Will and intention that he the said John Fraser shall freely hold and enjoy the said farm and Estate now devised to him and in the same manner as they are held by me during his natural life and that they shall descend to his lawful heirs as hereafter mentioned But that he shall not be at liberty nor have it in his power to sell or dispose thereof nor to incumber the same so as to cause the sale thereof unless I may hereafter think proper to alter this part of my Will And it is my Will and I do hereby specially charge my said son John Fraser alone with the payment of the sum of three hundred pounds currency which I owe to Mr Sauvageau Notary publick of the city of Quebec with such Interest as may be due thereon at the time of my death and for wich he Mr Sauvageau holds a mortgage on my said Estate of Mountmurray And I do hereby moreover declare it to be my Will and intention that in case both or either of the saids William Fraser or John Fraser shall have lawful issue that then and in that case he who shall have such issue shall have it in his power to make over the Estate now devised to him to any or all of such issue as he may think proper without such issue having any other restraint or constraint on their father than that he shall not have it in his power to sell or dispose of it to a stranger nor to incumber the Estate now made over to him so as to cause the sale thereof as already above mentioned And I do hereby further declare it to be my Will that in case of the decease of both of them the saids William Fraser and John Fraser without lawful issue I do then and in that case Give and Devise the whole of my said Estate of Mountmurray unto my son Simon Fraser late Lieutenant in His Majesty's forty second Regement of foot now on half pay and practising Physick at Terrebonne near Montreal and to his heirs and Assigns without any restrictions except that in case of his decease without lawful issue or without making any settlement of the said Estate and Seigniory of Mountmurray there and in that case the said Estate shall devolve on and be equally divided between my daughter Juliana wife of Patrick Langan and on my daughter Anne wife of Joseph Belanger and shall be at their disposal without any restrictions excepting that in case of their death of either of them without leaving lawful issue or without making any settlement of their respective parts and portions thereof that then and in that case the share of her who shall so die shall devolve on and belong to her who shall survive and to her heirs and assigns in free property And as to my houses and real property on Cape Diamond in the city of Quebeck I do Give and Devise these unto my said son Doctor Simon

Fraser of Terrebonne and to his lawful heirs or Assigns But on failure of such heirs or in case of the decease of the said Simon Fraser without making any settlement of the said houses and Estate on Cape Diamond then and in that case I Give and devise the same to my said daughter Juliana wife of Patrick Langan and to her lawful heirs and successors And as to the Seigniory and Estate of Islette du portage and what is called the little farm at Riviere du Loup in the County of Cornwallis I do now adhere to the settlement I made of the said Seigniory and farm in the month of September eighteen hundred and ten, as I think, on my son Joseph Fraser and on his two sons Malcolm Fraser and Andrew Fraser. And Whereas I hold a mortgage for the sum of four hundred pounds currency on the houses and real property of Mrs Mary Allaire situated on Cape Diamond in the city of Quebec I do hereby leave and bequeath the Interest of the said sum of four hundred pounds to the said Mrs Mary Allaire during her natural life And I Give and Devise or I leave and bequeath the said capital sum of four hundred pounds unto the female children of John Macloughlin of Riviere du Loup and of his wife Angelique my daughter and to be divided amongst them the said female children in such manner as she the said Mrs Mary Allaire may think proper or in case she does not make such division then I appoint that the same may be divided equally amongst the said female children And as I think that the said Mrs Mary Allaire is indebted to me in another sum of two hundred pounds currency and for wich I hold a mortage on her said real Estate I do hereby transferr and make over that mortgage with such Interest As may be due thereon at the time of my death unto her the said Mrs Mary Allaire But it is my wish and I request of her the said Mrs Mary Allaire to legate and bequeath this sum of two hundred pounds also to the said female children of the said John Macloughlin and of Angelique his Wife.

And now in as far as regards a mortgage for the sum of Two thousand pounds sterling which I hold on the Seigniory and Estate of Riviere du Loup in the County of Cornwallis and which Seigniory and Estate is the property of my son Alexander Fraser I do hereby Give and Devise or I do leave and bequeath the said sum of two thousand pounds sterling in manner following To Witt I do Give and Devise or I do leave and Bequeath to my said daughter Juliana the wife of Patrick Langan and to be freely held and enjoyed by her during her natural life and to be disposed of by her to any or to be divided amongst her children as she may think proper the sum of five hundred pounds sterling Item I do Give and Devise or I do leave and bequeath to my Grandson Alexander Fraser son of the said Alexander Fraser of Riviere du Loup the sum of three

hundred pounds Sterling Item to my daughter Anne wife of Joseph Belanger the sum of two hundred pounds Sterling Item to my Grandson John Macloughlin son of John Macloughlin and of Angelique his wife the sum of Two hundred pounds Sterling Item to my Grandson David Macloughlin son of the said John Macloughlin and of Angelique his wife the sum of two hundred pounds Sterling Item to my Nephew Malcolm Grant now residing at the said Riviere du Loup the sum of two hundred pounds Sterling and I do now acquitt him the said Malcolm Grant of whatever other balance he may appear to owe me at that time of my death Item to my Grandson Malcolm Fraser son of Joseph Fraser and of Anne Smith his wife the sum of two hundred pounds Sterling Item to my Grandson Andrew Fraser son of the said Joseph Fraser and of Anne his wife the sum of two hundred pounds Sterling And thus I think the said sum of two thousand pounds Sterling due to me by the mortgage on the Seigniory and Estate of Riviere du Loup is applyed and disposed of And I do leave and bequeath to my daughter Juliana wife of Patrick Langan whatever balance may appear due to me by him the said Patrick Langan or by her his said wife for Interest annuity rent of houses or otherwise unless I may think proper to alter this part of my present Will And I do now declare that if I do not in this my present Will bequeath to my said daughter Juliana a more considerable part of my Estate than I herein do It is because that I have already and heretofore in her Contract of marriage and otherwise amply provided for her according to my circumstances and accoring to the situation of my other near conections and relations and not that I am anyways displease with her but the reverse. Item I do leave and bequeath unto my son Alexander Fraser of Riviere du Loup whatever Balance may appear to be due to me by him at the time of my death on account of Interest for the said sum of two thousand pounds Sterling But specially reserving the said principal sum of two thousand pounds Sterling with such Interest as may become due on the same after my death to be divided amongst and paid unto the several Legatees as already above mentioned And it is my Will that the said Alexander shall renounce and transferr to his brother the above mentioned Doctor Simon Fraser all claims he the said Alexander Fraser may have or pretend on my said houses and real property in the city of Quebec and this although the purchase of the said real property on Cape Diamond may seem to have been made in his name whilst nevertheless he knows that those purchases were really made and paid for by me and with my money AND IT IS NOW MY WILL that in case he the said Alexander Fraser shall persist
^{VV} such in reclaiming any ^{VV} purchases made in his name that then

and in that case he shall be bound to account for and to pay unto the said Doctor Simon Fraser such balance as he the said Alexander Fraser may appear to owe me on account of Interest as aforesaid at the time of my death And I do now declare that if I do not in this my Latter Will bequeath any thing more considerable than the said balance of Interest to him the said Alexander Fraser. It is because I do think that by my having acquired for him (Whilst I might have done so for my self) the said Seigniory and Estate of Riviere du Loup and which I then foresaw would become of more value than it then was and as I advanced the price it cost. I say, that by my having thus done I imagine that I have provided for him the said Alexander Fraser in a more ample manner than for any other of my Relations excepting perhaps my said daughter Juliana wife of the said Patrick Langan Item I Give and Devise or I do leave and bequeath unto Mrs Mary Dugros an annuity of twenty five pounds currency and with which annuity of twenty five pounds currency my said farm of Point fraser or Pointe a Gase is to be equally chargeable together with my said farm of Comporté And the said William Fraser to whom I have devised my said farm of Point Fraser shall be bound to pay annually the sum of twelve pounds ten shillings of the said annuity and the said John Fraser shall be bound to pay annually the other twelve pounds ten shillings of the said annuity And I say that I Give and Devise or that I do leave and bequeath the said annuity of twenty five pounds to the said Mrs Mary Dugros and to be paid to her annually during her natural life because she has lived in my house and hath had the management of my household and other affairs at Point Fraser for several years past And I do further appoint and it is my Will that she the said Mistress Mary Ducros shall retain possession of my house of Point Fraser and of the furniture cattle and utensils belonging to me on the said farm of Point Fraser untill he the said William Fraser shall become of full age and thereafter untill he cause to build or until he finds another decent lodging with other suitable buildings for the said Mistress Mary Ducros on the said farm of Point Fraser And in the case he is obliged to be at any expence in buildings then It is my Will that he the said John Fraser shall be bound to pay one half of such expences And I do appoint and it is my Will that the said Mrs Mary Ducros shall be bound and obliged to lodge find board for and to cloath the said William Fraser and John Fraser when it may be thought suitable for them to reside at Point Fraser and untill they become of full age or untill they are otherwise provided for And I do further appoint that the said Mistres Mary Ducros shall be accountable to him the said William Fraser when he shall become of full age for all the castle furniture and other moveable effects which I may have left on the said farm of Point fraser at the time of my death And I do now earnestly recommend to all those to whom I have left any part of my Estate real or personal to promote and support as far as lays in their power the Government of His Majesty the King of the united Empire of Great Britain and Ireland within the said province of Canada and elsewhere. And I do further enjoin my said Legatees to live in friendship harmony and concord amongst themselves and without injuring others And I do hereby expressly Revoke and Annul all Wills and testaments heretofore made by me But I do at the same time Declare that, if I have not already, I do intent to make some Codicils or Wills regarding some small personal estate or fund I may have in Scotland or if I do not that such will as I may have already made in that respect shall remain in full force and be valid And requesting my friends hereafter mentioned to accept, I Do nominate and appoint John Reid Esquire Clerk of the Court of King's Bench of the district of Montreal Mr John Mc Cord merchant in Quebec, Thomas Mc Cord Esquire of Three Rivers Alexander Fraser proprietor of the Seigniory of Riviere du Loup, Captain Thomas Nairne of Murraybay Doctor Simon Fraser practising Physick at Terrebonne near Montreal and Mr Joseph Belanger merchant at Murraybay or the survivors of them to be Executors of this my Latter will and Testament and Tutors and Curators to such of the several Legatees as may be under age at the time of my death In Witness Whereof I have with mine own hand Written and subscribed what is on this and the thirteen preceeding pages At Murray bay or Malbay in the County of Northumberland and in the Province of Lower Canada this eighteenth day of January in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and twelve and I have unto this fourteenth page affixed my seal and I do now declare that it is my intention to make hereafter several transcripts of this my Latter Will and to subscribe and to put my seal to such transcripts and this I mean to do in order as far as I can to preserve this my Latter Will and in order that it may take effect, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, after my death

MALCOLM FRASER

I Malcolm Fraser having called unto me Mr. Neil Maclaren M.r. Peter Macnicol Mr. Antoine Riverin Junior and Master Charles Jordan all presently residing at Murray bay in the County of Northumberland of province of Lower Canada I do declare in their presence that what is written on the fourteen preceeding pages is my Latter will and Testament written with mine own hand and signed and sealed by me on the eighteenth day of January last at which date I did not imagine that there were any witnesses necessary nor could such witnesses be then easily had at this place but as they can now be found and as I think it may serve in future I have thought proper to declare and acknowledge in their presence as above: mentioned and that I do adhere unto my said Latter will and Testament in presence of the said witnesses In Testimony whereof I have written and subscribed this Codicil or Docquet at Murray bay or Malbay in the County of Northumberland this sixteenth day of March in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and twelve.

MALCOLM FRASER

Signed, sealed and declared by the Testator as as above mentioned in presence of

NIEL McLAREN — ANTOINE RIVERIN
PETER MACNICOL — CHARLES JORDAN

7. DR. DAVID McLOUGHLIN'S RETURN OF SERVICES AND PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

The original of this document is in the Public Record Office, London, England. With permission, it is reproduced herein at pages 275-76.

8. WILL OF DR. SIMON FRASER[7]

Last Will and Testament of the late Simon Fraser
Superior Court, Judicial District of Montreal
427, probated the 28th June, 1844

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN, I Simon Fraser Major of Terrebonne division of Militia, Lieutenant on half pay of Her Majesty's Forty Second Regiment of foot Physician and Surgeon, residing at the Village of Terrebonne in the County of Terrebonne in the District of Montreal in that part of the Province of Canada constituting heretofore the Province of Lower Canada. Make this my last Will and Testament and hereby revoke and annul any other Will or Wills I may have heretofore made

FIRSTLY I recommend my soul to the mercy of Allmighty God and direct that my body be committed to the grave with as little expense as may be consistent with decency. If I die at Terrebonne I wish to be buried on the Sandy Hill behind the Village the ground must be purchased no religious ceremonies to be used, no Priest or Minister need attend my funeral

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[7] From the original in the Prothonotary's Office, Montreal, Canada. See illustration, Plate 16 (page 274).

Secondly I give and bequeath after my lawful debts are paid, all the property both personal or real moveable or immoveable which I now possess or am entitled to, or which at the time of my death I may possess or may be entitled to without any exception or restriction whatever may be the extent thereof and wheresoever the same may be situated, to my son John Fraser Esquire Justice of the peace Notary public, resident of the Parish of St. Hermas, clerk of the division Court Number Three for the inferior District of Terrebonne and Merchant of the said Parishes of Terrebonne and St. Hermas, residing at the said Village of Terrebonne to be enjoyed and be disposed of by him as he may think fit. I make him my universal Legattee and appoint him sole Executor to this my last Will and Testament.

Lastly Should my said son John Fraser die before me or survive me and die without issue or Intestate in that case and in that case only I substitute and appoint my sister Angélique Fraser widow John McLoughlin residing at Riviér du Loup below Quebec to be my Hier, in lieu and place of my above mentioned son John Fraser and at her death, her daughters are to be substituted to her it is and must be understood that this clause in favor of the said Angélique Fraser widow John McLoughlin and her daughters will be null and void and of no value, if my above mentioned son leaves any Heirs or assignees or disposes of such property as he may receive under this Will and Testament, it being my wish and desire that in the event of my said son surviving me he shall not only have during his life time the full and unrestricted enjoyment of all my property but also the power of disposing of it by last Will and Testament as he may think proper.

In Testimony of all which I the said Testator Simon Fraser have to this my last Will and Testament made in duplicate signed my name and set my seal at Terrebonne in the office of the Honorable Joseph Masson this ninth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty two. Simon Fraser

Signed sealed published and declared by the said Simon Fraser as and for his last Will and Testament in the Presence of us who in his presence and in the presence of each other have hereto inscribed our names as Witnesses at Terrebonne aforesaid on the day and year as above written

Joseph Masson
Dr. & Surgeon [?]
Germain Raby

9. DOCUMENTS OF TWO TRANSACTIONS OF MRS. ELIZA McLOUGHLIN EPPES [8]

a. DEED OF SALE TO JOHN FRASER OF ST. MARK

On this day, the ninth of September one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

Before us the undersigned Notaries public, residing in the City of Quebec, in the province of Canada, personally came and appeared Mrs. Eliza McLoughlin, widow of William Randolph Eppes, of the said City of Quebec, acting as attorney of John McLoughlin, esquire, of Oregon City in the County of Clackamas and Territory of Oregon, under and in virtue of his certain power or Letter of Attorney under his hand and seal duly executed before witnesses on the twenty-third day of July last past, duly authenticated on the same day by and before J. N. Banker, Notary public, Clackamas County, Oregon, and remaining annexed to these presents, of the one part, and

John Fraser, of St. Marc, in the County of Vercheres, in the District of Montreal, esquire, Notary public, of the other part,

Which said parties in the presence of us, the said Notaries have stipulated, covenanted and agreed as follows, viz: –

The said Eliza Eppes, acting as aforesaid, did and doth hereby grant, bargain and sell, and bind and oblige her said constituent, to warrant, guard, guaranty and defend against all incumbrances, mortgages, debts, dowers, demands and all other troubles whatsoever, unto the said John Fraser, accepting hereof for himself, his heirs and assigns, THAT IS TO SAY:

1.– A lot of land situate and being in the parish of St. Patrick, River du Loup en Bas, in the District of Kamouraska, being lot *number three of the first range* of the Seigniory of the said River du Loup, containing six arpents in front by forty arpents in depth, bounded in front by River du Loup, in rear at the end of the said depth, on the South by Jean-Baptiste Chamberland and on the North by H. Gardner, together with the house, barn, stables thereon erected, circumstances and dependencies.

2.– Two other lots contiguous to each other, being lots numbers *six and seven of same range,* containing together six arpents in front by forty arpents in depth, bounded in front by the River St. Lawrence, in rear by the second range, on the West by the heirs of widow Michaud and on the East to the representatives of widow Talbot, together with the three houses, barn and stables thereon erected circumstances and dependencies.

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[8] Copied from the originals in the Archives Judiciaires, Palais de Justice, Quebec, Canada.

3.–An other lot of land situate at the same place being lot *two of the second range* called Frasserville, containing eight arpents in front by forty arpents in depth, bounded in front by the first range, in rear by the third range, circumstances and dependancies,

As the whole is now and with which the said purchaser doth declare himself satisfied, having viewed and examined the same.

Said lots of land and premises belonging to the said vendor by and in virtue of good and valid titles.

To HAVE AND TO HOLD the said lots of land and premises hereby sold and conveyed together with all the rights, privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging, unto him the said John Fraser, his heirs and assigns, to their own proper use, and benefit, henceforth for ever, to the effect whereof the said vendor acting as aforesaid doth hereby deseize and divest her said constituent of the whole in favor of the said purchaser by these presents.

THIS SALE is made subject to the payment for the future of such cens, seigniorial rights, rents, services and dues as may be payable for the said lots of land to the Domaine of the Seigniory of River du Loup, in which censive and mouvance the same are situated, warranted free and clear of all arrears up to this day.

And lastly the present sale is further made for, and in consideration of the sum of thirteen hundred and fifty pounds currency, which the said purchaser doth hereby bind and oblige himself to pay unto the said vendor acting as aforesaid as follows to wit: Two hundred pounds cy on the first day of October next, one hundred pounds, cy, on the first day of January next, and the balance in and by annual installments of the sum of one hundred pounds cy, each the first whereof shall become due and payable on the first day of March which will be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight and so to continue afterwards from year to year until the said balance shall have been fully paid and satisfied, together with the interest at six per cent per annum upon the said balance, to be computed from this day until perfect payment, said interest payable annually and to diminish according to the payments that shall be made in the said principal sum.

And whereas the said lots of land are now in the possession of Chrysologue and David Michaud and others, who have occupied the same as tenants or farmers or otherwise and who have not for a number of years past accounted for nor paid their rents and other dues to the said vendor, now these presents and we the said notaries witness that for the same consideration as above, the said Eliza Eppes acting as aforesaid, has assigned, transfered and made over unto the said John Fraser accepting hereof, all and every such claims, demands and pretension that the said vendor has in law and equity to call the said Chrysologue and David Michaud and others as aforesaid to account and draw and receive from them for his own use, profit and advantage, any rent, arrears of rent and other dues which they or either of them may owe to the said vendor for their use and occupation of the said several lots of land from the past unto this day to the effect whereof the said Eliza Eppes acting as aforesaid doth hereby put, subrogate and substitute the said John Fraser, in all the said John McLoughlin's rights, *droits, noms,* raisons, actions, privilèges et hypothèques against them the said Chrysologue and David Michaud and others as may have occupied the said lands or any part thereof. And it is hereby agreed that the interest on the balance of the consideration of the present sale shall not be payable to the said vendor but from the time that the said purchaser shall have been put in quiet possession of the said lands, any thing in these presents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And for security of the said sum of thirteen hundred and fifty pounds cy and the interest to grow due thereon as aforesaid, the said purchaser did and doth hereby bind, mortgage and hypothecate specially the several lots of land above described and sold, upon which the said vendor acting as aforesaid doth reserve the right and priviledge of bailleur de fonds.

FOR THUS &C. DONE AND PASSED at the said City of Quebec, in the office of Phi. Huot, one of the undersigned notaries on the day and year above written under number one thousand three hundred and seventy-one, the said parties having signed these presents first duly read according to law.

ELIZA EPPES
JOHN FRASER

LS. PANET, n. p. PH. HOUT, n. p.

Know all men by these presents that I, John McLoughlin of Oregon City, in the County of Clackamas and Territory of Oregon, have made, constituted and appointed, and by these presents do make, constitute and appoint Mrs. Eliza Eppes of Quebec, Canada-East, my true and lawful attorney, for me and in my name, place and stead, to enter into and take possession of all such lands, tenements, hereditaments and real estate whatever, in the Parish of River du Loup, Canada East, to or in which I am or may be, in any way entitled or interested, and to grant, bargain and sell the same or any part thereof, for such sum or price, and on such terms as to her shall seem meet; and for me and in my name, to make, execute, acknowledge and deliver good and sufficient deeds and conveyances for the same, either with or without convenants and warranty; and until the sale thereof to let and demise the said real estate for the best rent that can be procured for the same; and to ask, demand, distrain for, collect, recover, and receive all such sums of money which shall become due, and owing to me, by means of such bargain and sale, or lease and demise; giving and granting unto my said attorney full power and authority, to do and perform, all and every act and thing whatsoever requisite and necessary to be done in and about the premises, as fully to all intents and purposes, as I might or could do, if personally present, with full power of substitution and revocation, hereby ratifying and confirming all that my said attorney or her substitute shall lawfully do or cause to be done by virtue thereof.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the twenty-third day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

Sealed and delivered
in presence of

J. N. Banker — John McLoughlin
Maggie G. Rae

Territory of Oregon Ss
County of Glackamas

On this twenty-third day of July in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six, before me J. N. Banker, a Notary Public, duly commissioned and sworn, dwelling at Oregon City in the County aforesaid, personally came John McLoughlin, known to me to be the individual described in and who executed the foregoing instrument in writing and acknowledged that he executed the same for the purposes therein mentioned.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my official seal, the day and year above written.

J. N. Banker Notary Public.

Signed, signé et paraphé by the parties and the undersigned notaries to remain annexed to the deed of sale passed this day before Ph. Huot, Notary public at Quebec.

Quebec, 9th September 1856.

Eliza Eppes
John Fraser
Ls. Panet, n. p. — Ph. Huot, n. p.

b. LOAN OF £ 300 TO MRS. ELIZA McLOUGHLIN EPPES

Before the undersigned Notaries Public at Quebec, was present, Dame Eliza McLoughlin of the City of Quebec, Widow of the late William Randolph Eppes

Who, by these presents has granted, transferred and surrendered, with promise to furnish and make good title to Louis Fiset of this City of Quebec, Esquire, Advocate, one of the Protonotaries of the Superior Court at Quebec, and Louis Joseph Cyprien Fiset of the same place, Esquire, Advocate and Deputy Protonotary of this said Court.

By these presents and accepting grantees for themselves, their heirs and assigns, to wit the said Ls. Fiset for two thirds and the said L. J. C. Fiset for one third of the sum of Three hundred pounds, current rate, with interest at ten per cent from this day until complete payment, owed to the said Dame Widow Eppes by John Fraser of St. Marc Parish in the County of Verchères in the District of Montreal, Esquire, Notary Public, as part of the balance of the price of the sale of certain properties situate in the Parish of St. Patrice at Rivière-du-Loup en bas which the said Dame Widow Eppes has granted to the said John Fraser by a deed drawn up before Mr. Philippe Huot and his Colleague, Notaries in Quebec, September the ninth eighteen hundred and fifty-six, and being the payment which, by virtue of the agreement drawn up before the undersigned Notaries on the twenty-first of January instant, will fall due one year from the date of the said agreement; the said Dame Widow Eppes by these presents consenting that the said Louis Fiset and L. J. C. Fiset shall take precedence and have priority of mortgage over her for whatever remains owing to her on the price of the said deed of sale.

For the said grantees to enjoy, use and dispose of, henceforth, the said sum now transferred, the interests and additions in the proportions expressed hereabove as of something belonging to them in full and entire ownership, by means of these presents; for which purpose the said grantor puts and subrogates to herself the said grantees at all times and places, rights, names, claims actions, privileges and mortgages for the said grantees to exercise said rights and actions when and how they please and in the manner they think best.

This transfer is thus made for and in consideration of a like sum of Three Hundred pounds, current rate, which the said grantor acknowledges having received from the said grantees in the proportions hereabove expressed in the sight and presence of us, Notaries aforesaid of which this is receipt in full.

And in these presents intervened and was present, Mr. Alexander Fraser, residing at Quebec, Law Student at Laval University, acting in his capicity of duly appointed attorney for John Fraser of the said Parish of St. Marc, Notary Public according to Power of Attorney drafted before Mr. Z. de St. Aubin and his Colleague, Notary at St. Marc, on January the seventeenth eighteen hundred and fifty-nine.

Who, in his said capacity, after having had produced to him and having heard the reading, to his complete satisfaction, of the deed of transfer which is above set forth and the other parts thereof has, by these presents, voluntarily declared that he heard and understood correctly the said deed of transfer and approves of it and therefore accepts it and considers it good and due notice and promises and engages himself to pay the amount with interest at ten per cent; in one year from the date of the said agreement hereabove mentioned, to wit, to the said Ls. Fiset the sum of two hundred pounds, current rate, and to the said L. J. C. Fiset the sum of one hundred pounds, current rate, at their home in Quebec, the whole without any substitution or derogation whatever of the rights, privileges and money lender's mortgages resulting from the said deed of sale above mentioned and dated September the ninth eight hundred and fifty-six and which the said Ls. Fiset and L. J. C. Fiset will keep, on the said lots of land therein designated to wit: on the *lots numbers three, six and seven of the first range* of the Seigneurie of Rivière-du-Loup en bas containing altogether, said three lots, twelve arpents in front by forty arpents in depth. And on *lot number two of the Second range* of the said Seigneurie containing eight arpents in front by forty arpents in depth designated at greater length in said deed of sale and upon which said Dame Eppes had reserved a right of repurchase according to which right and option she has expressly repurchased by deed drawn before the undersigned Notaries on the twenty-first of January instant, as a security for the said sum of Three Hundred pounds and interest as above stated with preference, precedence and priority of mortgage over her, the said Dame Eppes, for whatever balance as above stated is still owing to her and to which she has consented and still voluntarily consents.

THEREFORE etc. . .

THE ABOVE DEED DRAWN AND MADE at Quebec in the office of Mr. Philippe Huot, one of the said Notaries on the twenty-second of January in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-nine before noon, under number two thousand one hundred and sixty-three and have signed after the deed read over.

L. J. C. FISET	A. FRASER
E. J. CANNON, N.P.	L. S. FISET
ELIZABETH MARY EPPES	PHI. HUOT N.P.

10. WILL OF DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN AND EXECUTOR'S BOND[9]

LAST WILL & TESTAMENT OF JOHN McLOUGHLIN, DECD.

In the name of God, Amen, I John McLoughlin of Oregon City, in the County of Clackamas and Territory of Oregon, of the age of seventy two years, and being of sound and disposing mind and memory do make, publish and declare this my last will and testament, in manner following, that is to say,

It is my will that all my just debts and the charges and expenses of my funeral be paid and discharged by my executor hereinafter named and appointed, out of my estate as soon as conveniently may be after my decease –

I give, devise and dispose of all my estate [real and personal] [Save what shall be necessary for the payment of my just debts and funeral charges] in the following manner

I give and devise all my lands, tenements, hereditainments and real estate, situate and being in the Parish of Rivière-du-Loup in Canada East to my daughter Eliza Eppes, widow of the late Deputy Commissary General Eppes of the British army, to be used and enjoyed by her during the term of her natural life; and from and immediately after her decease, I give and devise the same to her children to be divided equally between them share and share alike.

I give and bequeath to my wife Margaret McLoughlin all my linen, china, glass, and all my household goods and furniture (Except my plate) whatsoever and wheresoever, to hold to her as her own absolute property. I also give to my said wife the use and enjoyment of all my plate, during her life; and from and after her decease, I give the said plate to my daughter Eloisa Harvey. All the rest residue and remainder of my estate; both real and personal, of any name and nature, whatsoever and wheresoever, which at the time of my decease, I am possessed of or entitled unto, and not herein otherwise disposed of,

I give, devise and bequeath unto my daughter Eloisa Harvey, wife of Daniel Harvey, to my son David McLoughlin, and to my son-in-law Daniel Harvey, to be divided equally between, share and share alike, and to their respective heirs forever, subject only nevertheless to the gifts grants and bequests to my wife Margaret McLoughlin hereinafter made.

I give, devise and bequeath to my said wife Margaret McLoughlin for and during her natural life, the same to be accepted and received by her in lieu of douer, one annuity, or clear yearly rent or sum of one thousand dollars, free and clear of all taxes and other deductions, to be issuing and payable out of the real estate above devised to my daughter Eloisa Harvey, to my son David McLoughlin, and to my son-in-law Daniel Harvey, in equal quarter yearly payments at her dwelling house, on the first day of January, April, July and October in each and every year as aforesaid, the first payment to begin and be made on each of the said days as shall next happen after my decease and I do hereby charge and subject the said real estate last aforesaid, with and to the payment of the said annuity, yearly, to wit, a sum of one thousand dollars, at the times and in the manner aforesaid (Also I give and devise unto my said wife the use and occupation of the house wherein I now dwell situate at Oregon City aforesaid with the garden and privileges thereunto belonging to be used and enjoyed by her during her life.

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[9] Recorded in Book A, pp. 217-219 of the Records of Clackamas County, Oregon City, Oregon.

And my express will and meaning is and I do hereby order and appoint that if any difference dispute, question or controversy shall be moved arise or happen concerning any gift, bequest or other matter or thing in this my will given and bequeathed expressed or contained, that then no suit or suits in law or Equity or otherwise shall be brought, commenced or prosecuted for and concerning the same. But the same shall be referred wholly to the award order and determination of my executor hereinafter named and what he shall order direct or determine therein shall be as binding and conclusion to all and any person or persons therein concerned as if I myself had made and expressed the same in this my will; and lastly, I do hereby nominate and appoint my son-in-law Daniel Harvey to be the executor of this my last will and testament, hereby revoking all former wills by me made.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and said seal this twenty-first day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven.

JOHN MCLOUGHLIN
SEAL

The above instrument consisting of two sheets, was at the date thereof, signed sealed, published and declared, by the said John McLoughlin as and for his last will and testament, in presence of us, who at his request and in his presence, and in presence of each other, have subscribed our names as witnesses thereto –

DAVID LOWE residing at Oregon City in Clackamas Co
THOMAS LOWE residing at same place
J. W. BANKER residing at Oregon City Clackamas Co

BOND OF $100,000 IN THE ESTATE OF JOHN McLOUGHLIN

Know all men by these presents, that we Daniel Harvey as principal, and Forbes Barclay, Thomas Lowe, and Francis A. Mathieu of the County of Marion

All of the County of Clackamas except said Mathieu as surities, severally bound to the Territory of Oregon in the sum of one hundred thousand dollars; to the full payment of which sum, well and truly to be made to the said Territory, we hereby bind ourselves, our heirs, executors, and administrators forever firmly, jointly and severally, by these presents.

Signed and sealed this seventh day of September 1857.

The condition of this obligation: that whereas the said Harvey has been appointed executor of the last will and testament of John McLoughlin, late of said County of Clackamas, deceased, and has accepted said Trust now if the said Harvey, shall faithfully execute the duties of his said trust under said will according to law; this obligation shall be void, otherwise in full force.

In presence of	
AMORY HOLBROOK	FORBES BARCLAE
DAVID LOWE	THOMAS LOWE
DANIEL HARVEY	FRANCIS A. MATTHIEU

11. WILL OF DR. DAVID MacLOUGHLIN [10]

I, DAVID MACLOUGHLIN of Bruton Street, Berkeley Square in the County of Middlesex, Doctor of Medicine, make this my last will in manner following I revoke all my previous testamentary instruments I give to Sydney Mayhew my executor herein after named as an acknowledgment for services rendered to me by him and his father in various matters relating to my affairs and interest the sum of one thousand five hundred pounds I appoint Sydney Mayhew of 26 Carey Street Lincolns Inn solicitor EXECUTOR of this my will and I declare that the said Sydney Mayhew who is a practising attorney and solicitor shall be entitled to make professional charges for any business which may be done by him with reference to this my will or the trusts powers or provisions thereof as fully as if he had not been appointed a trustee or executor of this my will and shall be entitled to retain or receive from his co-trustee out of the said trust monies the full amount of such charges respectively WHEREAS I have a claim on Her Majesty's Government in respect of arrears of pay which I estimate at the sum of twenty thousand pounds and WHEREAS I am entitled under the will of General Amedee Theodore Davesies de Pontes deceased to a legacy or sum of one thousand pounds and have also a claim on the estate of the said testator for professional attendances and services on and rendered to him amounting to five hundred and sixty pounds or thereabouts and WHEREAS I am advised that I may possibly become entitled to other advantages under the said will which may be of great value I give and devise all my real and PERSONAL ESTATE whatsoever which I may possess at the time of my death and over which I may then have disposing power or in which I may then have any interest contingent or otherwise unto the said Sydney Mayhew his heirs executors administrators and assigns upon trust to sell my real estate and receive such parts of my personal estate as shall consist of money and convert into money such part of my said personal estate as shall not consist of money and for the purposes aforesaid with power to carry on and continue and intervene in all actions suits and proceedings then in progress and to institute commence or continue or intervene in all or any such other actions suits and proceedings as he shall in his absolute discretion think advisable and upon further trust out of the proceeds of my said estate to pay my funeral and testamentary expenses and my just debts and to retain the said legacy bequeathed by this my will and to invest the residue of the monies to arise from such realization of my said estate until the further investment herein after mentioned in Government stock and securities in Great Britain in the names of the present Earl of Essex William John Martin of No. 37 Cleveland Square Paddington Esquire and of the said Sydney Mayhew And I desire that the said Earl of Essex William John Martin and Sydney Mayhew or the survivors or survivor of them their or his executors or administrators with all convenient speed lay out and invest the net proceeds of the sale of such Government stocks and securities in the purchase of freehold land in the British possessions in Canada in North America to be conveyed unto and to the use of such two or more persons and their heirs resident in Canada aforesaid and to be selected by the said Earl and the said William John Martin and Sydney Mayhew and approved by David Macloughlin David Michaud and Talbot herein after named or such of them as shall be then living to be held by such two or more persons their heirs and assigns upon the trusts following (that is to say) upon trust to pay the annual rents issues and profits or other the annual income arising from the said land to my nephew David Macloughlin of Oregon City in America the son of my late brother John Macloughlin or as he shall direct during his natural life and from and after his decease to pay the said rents and profits and income to the first and other sons of the said David Macloughlin successively in tail male so that every oldest son and his issue male shall be preferred to every younger son and his issue male and for default of such issue upon trust to pay the said rents issues and profits and income to David Michaud Esquire of Riviére du Loup below Quebec in Canada the son of my late sister Madame Michaud or as he shall direct during his natural life and from and after his decease then to pay the said annual rents issues and profits and income to the first and other sons of the said David Michaud successively in tail male in like manner as is herein before provided as to the sons of the said David Macloughlin And from and after the failure of the last mentioned or all the herein before mentioned trusts or to such extent as they shall not take effect to convey the said trust estate unto and to the use of my nephew Talbot Esquire the eldest son of my sister Mrs. Talbot of Carona below Quebec in Canada his heirs and assigns forever and I declare that my said trustees shall have and exercise all the powers and do all things incident to their character of trustees according to the provisions contained in the 145th Chapter of the Statute made in the twenty third and twenty fourth years of the reign of Her present Majesty in this behalf In witness whereof I the said testator to this my will contained in one sheet of paper set my hand this thirty first day of May in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty seven – DAVID MACLOUGHLIN – Signed and declared by the said David Macloughlin the Testator as and for his last will and testament in the presence of us who in his presence at his request and in the presence of each other have hereunto subscribed our names as witnesses – CHAS. H. EDWARDS 26 Cary St.: Lin: Inn Sol: – WILMOT RICHES 26 Cary Street.

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[10] Recorded in the Principal Probate Registry, Somerset House, London, England.

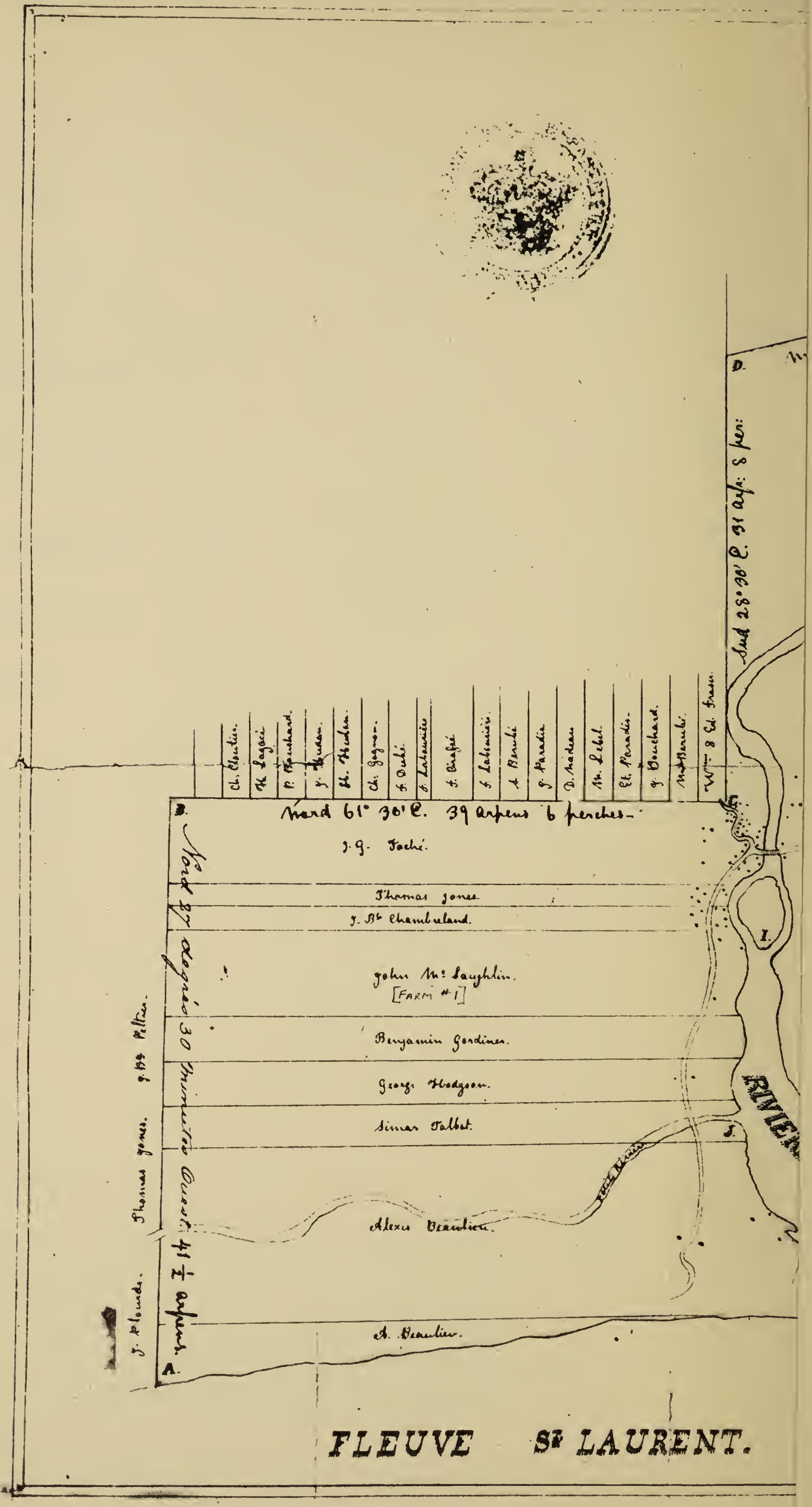
This is my first CODICIL to my will dated 31st May 1867 by the last will of the late General Davesies de Pontes dated 21 February 1865 I was appointed one of the trustees to his will By that will he left all his property in trust to Mrs. Darcy Irvine to carry out his wishes. This is to pay the legacies which he had left to some of his family and friends On the 20 Feby 1865 I had under the General's dictation written out a long list of names of persons to whom the General left legacies which list he signed and dated and handed it to me with a large bundle of papers connected with his landed property to keep as one of his intended trustees to his will On the 25 Feby 1865 I was obliged to come to London and not wishing to take those valuable papers with me I gave them to Mrs. Sullovan the first Trustee named in General's will for safe keeping as I was about to leave Ryde to convey the remains of the General to France four days after his death to France Mrs. Sullovan brought that bundle of papers to me to return them she said at the same time informing me – that they were just as I had given them to her as no one had seen them since they were in her possession I declined taking them out of her hands saying that they would be safer with her in her house than with me while travelling abroad Therefore it is evident that four days after General Davesies de Pontes' death the list which I had written out under his dictation on the 20 February 1865 of persons to whom he left legacies then existed But it now appears that Mrs. Darcy Irvine has sworn that the General left no signed list of legacies to his family or friends She has however put in a short list of legacies which she says the General dictated to her but which he did not sign accidentally I met the late Reverd. Mr. Langan who had been in the habit to read prayers with the late General The conversation turned on the disappearance of the above list which I had written under the General's dictation on the 20 Feb /65 The Revd. Mr. Langan then informed me that a few days before his death the General requested him to write down the names and the amount of legacies which he wished to leave He wrote two pages of names and the amount of legacies they were to received – that the General signed that list (and requested him) Mr. Langan to hand it to Mrs. Darcy Irvine then in the room with them which he did This list has also disappeared As one of the trustees to the General's will I requested leave from the late Revd. Mr. Langan to inform my co-trustees of this circumstance that he the late Mr. Langan had as stated above written out a list of bequests under the General's dictation He permitted me to do I therefore informed Mr. Robins of the circumstance Mr. Robins called with me on the late Revd. Mr. Langan had from him the above details and request leave to inform Mrs. Darcy Irvine solicitor of this circumstance which was granted after Mrs. Darcy Irvine's solicitor had seen the late Rev. Mr. Langan and had had the above facts from him Mrs. Darcy Irvine in a few days after called on the late Mr. Langan and presenting him a paper apparently legally drawn out requesting him to declare that he never had written out a list of bequests under the late Generals Davesies de Pontes directions that he never had told any one that he had ever written out such a list The late Rev. Mr. Langan from whom I have the above information repeated the circumstance to me a few days after it *that* happened and of course had refused to do what she had asked I deem it right at once to request Mr. Robins to call on the late Mr. Langan to hear what had passed between Mrs. Darcy Irvine and the late Revd. Mr. Langan and I believe Mr. Robins did so I also wrote Mrs. Sullovan as being the other trustee to inform her of Mrs. Darcy Irvine's visit and object to the late Revd. Mr.

Langan I received for answer the request from Mrs. Sullovan's solicitor that any further communications from me to Mrs. Sullovan should be made through him In consequence of these facts Mr. Mayhew the solicitor 26 Cary Street and one of the trustees to my will of the 31 May 1867 has informed me that it is the opinion of the lawyers he has consulted that the Court of Chancery will see that Mrs. Darcy Irvine has fraudulently supressed the above two lists of bequests to the General's family and friends and will deprive her of her trust and give the property to the General's legal heir That failing to find a legal heir, the property becomes legally the property of the three trustees Under these circumstances and acting under the advice of Mr. Mayhew I have made my will of the 31 May 1867 I have left Mr. Mayhew fifteen hundred pounds but it is distinctly understood that these fifteen hundred pounds shall be paid to him only if he proves legally that I am entitled to one-third of the late General Davesies de Pontes' property and can give him no claim on any property that I may leave independently of the above one-third of the late General Davesies property I desire that my two trustees the Earl of Essex and William John Martin Esqre. may receive each five hundred pounds But if Mr. Mayhew should fail to prove that I am entitled to the one third of the late General Davesies property I beg they will accept each the Earl of Essex and William John Martin three hundred pounds in the hopes that they will do their best to carry out my wishes with whatever property I may leave – London 9 September 1867 – DAVID MACLOUGHLIN – Witnesses – BENJAMIN VINCENT – HENRY CLAYTON HUGHES) Royal Institution, Albemarle Street London.

(Affidavit of due execution filed)

PROVED at London with a Codicil 3rd June 1871 by the oath of Sydney Mayhew the sole Executor to whom Admin was granted.

Map showing Dr. John McLoughlin's farms in Rivière-du-Loup.



D.
Sud 28° 30' O. 31 arp: 8 per:
Ch. Cloutier.
H. Lagacé
P. Bouchard.
J. Hudon.
H. Hudon.
Ch. Gagnon.
F. Ouéllé
F. Labonnière
F. Bisagé
F. Labonnière
A. Bérubé
J. Paradis
D. Madeau
M. Lebel.
Et. Paradis.
J. Bouchard.
M. Bérubé
Wm. & Ed. Fraser.
B.
Nord 61° 30' O. 39 arpens 6 perches.
J. G. Taché.
Thomas Jones.
J. Bt. Chamberland.
John Mc. Laughlin.
[Farm #1]
Benjamin Gardiner.
George Hodgson.
Simon Talbot.
Alexis Beaulieu.
A. Beaulieu.
Nord 27 degrés 30 minutes Ouest. 41 ½ arpens.
J. Bte Peltier.
Thomas Jones.
J. Plourde.
A.
I.
J.
RIVIER
FLEUVE ST. LAURENT.

Appendix III
Dr. John McLoughlin's Farms in Riviere-du-Loup

After the death of his father, in 1813, Dr. John McLoughlin began to acquire farm land in Rivière-du-Loup. In the end he possessed three farms. They are described as follows in a deed dated September 9, 1856:[1]

> 1. A lot of land situate and being in the parish of St. Patrick, Rivière-du-Loup en Bas, in the district of Kamouraska, being *lot number three of the first range,* of the Seigniory of the said Rivière-du-Loup, containing six arpents in front by forty arpents in depth, bounded in front by River-du-Loup, in rear at the end of said depth, on the south by Jean Baptiste Chamberland and on the north by H. Gardner, together with the house, barn, and stables thereon erected hereditaments and dependencies.
>
> 2. Two other lots contiguous to each other, being *lots number six and seven of the same range,* containing together six arpents in front by forty arpents in depth, bounded in front by the River St. Lawrence, in the rear by the second range, on the west by the heirs of widow Michaud and on the east by the representatives of widow Talbot, together with three houses, barn and stables thereon erected, hereditaments and dependencies.
>
> 3. Another pot of land situated at the same place being lot two of the second range called Fraserville, containing eight arpents in front by forty arpents in depth, bounded in front by the first range and in the rear by the third range, hereditaments and dependencies.

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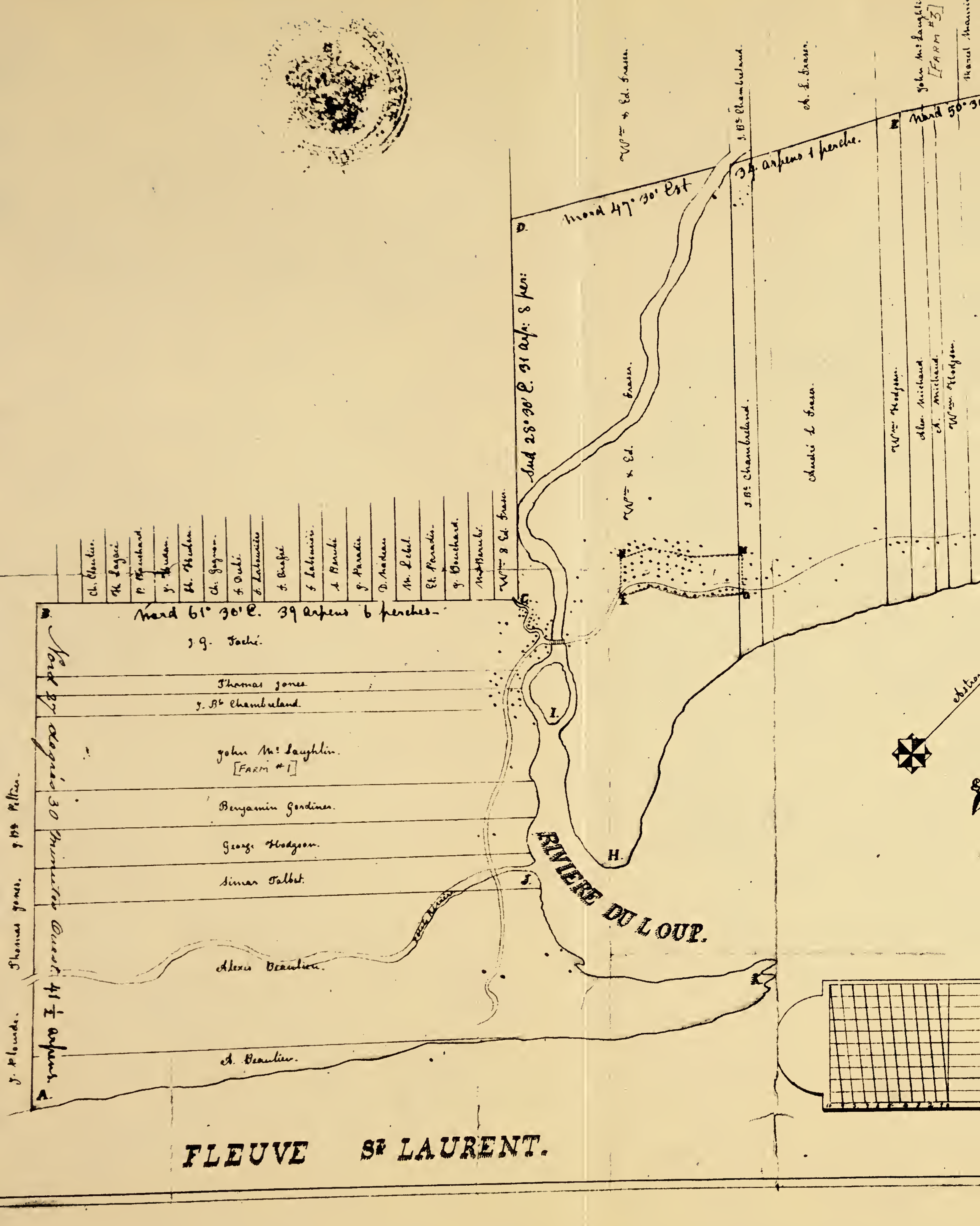
[1] Deed of Eliza Eppes, under and by virtue of a power of attorney of Dr. John McLoughlin, to John Fraser of St. Mark. See Appendix II, Doc. 9a. Dr. McLoughlin's daughter signed the deed as "Eliza Eppes," but in the document she appears as Mrs. Eliza McLoughlin, widow of William Randolph Eppes. Dr. John McLoughlin uses the name "Eliza" in all his references to his daughter Elisabeth, and in his power of attorney she is "Mrs. Eliza Eppes of Quebec." The farms in this district are still laid out as described in the deed. Enclosed by a fence, they are easily observed by the passerby. Dr. McLoughlin's three farms totaled 676 acres. See map showing the farms, herein at page 310.



FLEUVE St LAURENT.
RIVIERE DU LOUP.
Nord 61° 30' E. 39 arpens 6 perches.
Nord 87 degrés 30 minutes Ouest. 41 ½ arpens.
Sud 28° 30' E. 31 arp: 8 per:
Nord 47° 30' Est
34 arpens 1 perche.
Nord 50° 3
A.
B.
D.
G.
H.
I.
J.
K.
J. G. Taché.
Thomas Jones
J. Bte Chamberland.
John Mc Laughlin.
[FARM #1]
Benjamin Gardiner.
George Hodgson.
Simon Talbot.
Alexis Beaulieu.
A. Beaulieu.
J. Plourde.
Thomas Jones.
J. Bte Peltier.
Ch. Cloutier.
H. Lagacé
P. Bouchard.
J. Hudon.
H. Hudon.
Ch. Gagnon.
J. Ouellet.
J. Labonté
J. Bisson
J. Lebonnier.
A. Bérubé
J. Paradis
D. Nadeau
M. Lebel.
Et. Paradis.
J. Bouchard.
N. Bérubé
Wm & Ed. Fraser.
Wm & Ed. Fraser.
Wm & Ed.
Fraser.
J. Bte Chamberland.
J. Bte Chamberland.
A. L. Fraser.
André L. Fraser.
Wm Hodgson.
Alex. Michaud.
A. Michaud.
Wm Hodgson.
John Mc Laughlin
[FARM #3]
Marcel Mar
Astro

Appendix III

Dr. John McLoughlin's Farms in Riviere-du-Loup

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>
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>
> 3. Another pot of land situated at the same place being lot two of the second range called Fraserville, containing eight arpents in front by forty arpents in depth, bounded in front by the first range and in the rear by the third range, hereditaments and dependencies.

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Dr. John McLoughlin's paternal grandfather died on October 3, 1812, his father on April 28, 1813. In the settlements of their estates Dr. McLoughlin received the farms. According to an "Act of Partition" dated July 30, 1821, Cultivateur John McLoughlin, the doctor's father, owned at his death several tracts of land at Rivière-du-Loup, totaling nineteen arpents in width and forty arpents in depth.[2] Apparently an amicable partition of the land took place. The following family members are recorded to have taken part in the proceedings: Dr. John McLoughlin, Dr. David McLoughlin, by power of attorney to his older brother, Julie McLoughlin, wife of Jean Marie Michaud of St. Andre, Honoree McLoughlin, wife of Joseph Miville called Dêschêne, master carpenter of Rivière-du-Loup, Margarete McLoughlin, wife of Simon Talbot called Gervais, merchant of Cacouna, and Dame Angélique Fraser, their mother. Marie Louise, cloistered member of the Quebec Ursulines, seems not to have been a necessary party to the partition proceedings.

In the same record is a statement by Jean Michaud, acting on behalf of Dr. John McLoughlin, which shows that on March 22, 1826, Dr. McLoughlin owned the following three pieces of land in Rivière-du-Loup:

1. One tract, 6 arpents wide and 40 deep, reckoning from the River-du-Loup.
2. One tract, 6 arpents wide and 40 deep, reckoning from the St. Lawrence river.
3. One tract, 7½ arpents wide and 40 deep, located on the other line (en deuxième rang) of the seigniory of River-du-Loup.

The following transfers indicate in part the chain of title by which Grandfather John McLoughlin and Cultivateur John McLoughlin came in possession of some of the land. The complete chain of title has not been found.

1. Grandfather John McLoughlin and Mary Short, his wife, purchased a farm, 6 arpents by 40, fronting on the River-du-Loup, from Jean Chasse and Angelique, his wife, on February 8, 1786. Colonel Malcolm Fraser was a witness to the deed.
2. On February 6, 1797, John McLoughlin and Mary Short deeded two-thirds of this farm, or 4 arpents by 40, to their son, Cultivateur John McLoughlin, the doctor's father. The other 2 arpents went to their daughter Honoree.

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[2] "Act of Partition," July 30, 1821; copy in the archives of the Oregon Historical Society.

3. On May 8, 1804, Mary Short willed to her son John a farm, 2 arpents by 40, bordering on River-du-Loup.

4. On July 12, 1806, Grandfather John McLoughlin whose wife Mary had died in September 1805, deeded to his son John a farm, 3 arpents by 40, on the River-du-Loup.

5. On February 16, 1786, Malcolm Fraser deeded to Cultivateur John McLoughlin, his son-in-law, a farm, 4 arpents by 40, on the St. Lawrence River.

6. On February 11, 1797, Etienne Michaud and his wife sold Cultivateur John McLoughlin ½ arpent by 40 running from River-du-Loup.

These transactions seem to refer to the first and the second farm. Thus far no title has been found for the third farm. It is described to be 8 arpents by 40, being lot 2 of the second rank in Fraserville, limited in front by the first rank and in back by the third. It appears that finally Dr. John McLoughlin ended in possession of three farms of 6, 6, and 8 arpents by 40, one on the River-du-Loup, one on the St. Lawrence, and one back in the second rank. Apparently farms facing the River-du-Loup and the St. Lawrence River were in the first rank, those immediately behind in the second.

Eliza Eppes, Dr. McLoughlin's daughter, sold these three farms to John Fraser of St. Mark against the wishes of her father; they are the same in which Dr. McLoughlin willed her a life estate. When she sold them, the proceeds belonged to her father. Yet these farms, or the income from the sale, did not appear in the inventory of Dr. McLoughlin's estate. The sale by Mrs. Eppes was not set aside. By allowing the transaction to stand, there were no farms to pass by the will of Dr. McLoughlin, and the executor in Oregon, not inventorying them or the proceeds of the sale, seemed to have abandoned the land. Eliza thus defeated the purpose of her father to give her a life estate only. If she collected the full purchase price and kept the money, she also cut out the inheritance of her children as the remaindermen.

Appendix IV
Relics of Dr. John McLoughlin

Among the souvenirs given to the McLoughlin House in Oregon City by Mrs. George Deering, great-granddaughter of Dr. John McLoughlin, are the following items:

1. TWO PORTRAITS OF DR. McLOUGHLIN.

The first painting, a portrait bust, was done by William Cogswell, an American portrait painter, probably 1886, or 1887. The other is a miniature on ivory showing Dr. McLoughlin as a middle-aged man.[1] It is believed to be the earliest known portrait of him. It is supposed to have been painted in Paris in the winter of 1838-1839 when the doctor was visiting his brother David.

2. A SILVER MEDAL.

The medal, two and three-fourths inches in diameter, of the Horticultural Society of London, is inscribed "Presented to John McLoughlan Esqr. May 11th, 1826." The official record registering the award is to be found in the *Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London,* VII, Pt. I, under the heading "List of Large Silver Medals presented by Order of the Council of the Horticultural Society of London from May 1, 1826, to May 1, 1827." It reads: "To John McLoughlan Esq. the Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, at the mouth of the River Columbia, for the assistance rendered to Mr. David Douglas, whilst making his collections in the countries belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company in the Western part of North America."

David Douglas (1798-1834), the botanist, made two visits to the Oregon country, the first on April 7, 1825, and the second on October 14, 1832. His diary contains many references to Dr. McLoughlin. "On Saturday, April 16, 1825," one of the entries reads, "the Chief Factor, John McLoughlin, Esq., came down the [Columbia] river from the new establishment [Fort Vancouver] who received me with much kindness. In the most frank and handsome manner he assured me that everything in his power would be done to promote the views of the Society." [2]

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[1] See frontispiece to this volume.

3. SEAL OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY.

The seal shows a beaver at the foot of a tree, apparently cutting it down. A ribbon banner carries the word "perseverance," and, below the tree and the beaver, the letters "N. W. Co." are inscribed. The relic seems to be a replica of the seal of the North West Company. Dr. McLoughlin was in the employ of the North West Company from 1803 until the coalition with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. The old Nor'Wester apparently cherished the seal. At his death it passed into the hands of his son-in-law, Daniel Harvey, the executor of his will. It remained in the Harvey family until given to the McLoughlin House by Mrs. George Deering. A search in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company in London, in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia at Victoria, and in the library of the University of British Columbia at Vancouver has failed to locate any document bearing this seal. So far as known it is the only evidence for the existence of such a seal.

4. A GOLD RING WITH A SEAL IN EBONY SETTING.

The ring is inscribed "A. R. McLeod, a lamented friend, Obt. 11 June 1840." The seal is that of the North West Company described above with the exception of the letters "N. W. Co." A letter from Miss A. M. Johnson, archivist of the Hudson's Bay Company, November 29, 1948, explains that it is a mourning ring: "Alexander Roderick McLeod, who died on June 11, 1840, made a will at Ft. Vancouver on June 16, 1828, in which he stated: 'Did my means admit I should certainly bestow something on my brother but my poverty will not warrant that; however I desire a gold ring with my initials to be presented him and the same mark of gratitude I wish to make each of my Executors John McLoughlin Esquire. John Stuart Esquire both of whom I duly appoint'." This undoubtedly is the reference to the mourning ring that Dr. McLoughlin received although he never acted as a joint executor.

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[2] David Douglas, *Journal Kept by David Douglas during his Travels in North America 1823-1827, Together with a Particular Description of Thirty-three Species of American Oaks and Eighteen Species of Pinus* [ital.], *with Appendices Containing a List of the Plants Introduced by Douglas and an Account of his Death in 1834* (London, 1914), 106.

5. GOLD WATCH AND CHAIN OF DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN.

The watch is size 18, key wind, ¾ plate, English duplex escapement, fuzee and chain movement, number 2/3108, hunting case 18K, by Barrands and Lund, Cornhill, London. In the center, on the outside of the front lid of the case is a monogram of the letters "McL." There appears to be no "J." The watch supposedly was to be handed down in the doctor's family as a McLoughlin rather than a John McLoughlin watch; hence the absence of an initial of the given name. Dr. McLoughlin had three sons, Joseph, John, and David, to whom he might have looked to perpetuate the name. But Joseph, the oldest, born of an Indian woman before the doctor's marriage to Marguerite Wadin McKay, died on December 14, 1848, at the age of "about 38 years," leaving no known heirs. John was murdered at Fort Stikine in the night of April 20/21, 1842; he had no family. David, the youngest son, went native in northern Idaho and died at Port Hill, Idaho, in 1903. Engraved on the case, partly above and partly below the monogram, is the name of the owner and the date when each came into the possession of the watch: "1824 John McLoughlin; 1857 Daniel Harvey Sr.; 1868 J. McL. Harvey, Sr.; J. McL. Harvey, Jr." Thus it appears that Dr. McLoughlin bought the watch in 1824. At his death in 1857 it is listed in the inventory of the estate and was appraised at $75. His son-in-law, Daniel Harvey, Sr., fell heir to it, and in 1868 John McLoughlin Harvey, Sr., inherited it. No date appears to indicate when his son received it. At the death of John McLoughlin Harvey, Jr., the last inscribed owner, the watch went to his sister, Mrs. George Deering, the donor.

6. McLOUGHLIN COAT OF ARMS[3]

The imprint of a coat of arms in red wax is in a round dark wooden box of about two inches in diameter. The lid gives the name "Grayhurst [blotted] Jewelers and Seal Engravers, 65 Strand, near the Adelphi." In 1808 there existed a firm of "watchmakers and silversmiths" at 65 Strand, by the name of Grayhurst and Harvey. It is probable that this firm, or its successors, made the impression. The over-all impression is an inch long and three-quarters of an inch wide. In the center is a coat of arms, about a half inch high, below which is a ribbon motto "vinces virtute." The seal is a lion rampant between upright swords, at the base of three crescents.

The writer sent a drawing of the coat of arms to the Library of Congress, and, under date of December 24, 1948, received a reply with a reference to the title page of John Patrick Brown, *The Mac Laughlins of Clan Owen. A Study in Irish History* (Boston, 1879). It revealed the coat of arms of the Irish branch of the family. It differs from the imprint received from Mrs. George Deering in one particular, it has a crest of a Knight's helmet which does not appear in the Deering wax imprint. The Irish branch of the family is known as the "Mac Laughlins of Clan Owen." Owen, a convert of St. Patrick, was a son of Naill the Great, King of Ireland, and lived about 400 A.D. Owen had a grandson, Murtogh or Maurice, "learned, brave and pious who became . . . the first Christian king of Ireland. . . It is from Murtough that the Mac Laughlins are descended." [4]

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[3] See illustration herein, at page 9.

In Sir Bernard Burke, *General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales* (London, 1878), the following description is given of the Mac Lochlin coat of arms: "Per fess az. and gu. in chief a lion rampant or, betw. two swords erect ar. pommel and hilt of the third, in base three crescents of the fourth, two and one. Motto cuimbing go geallamhnaca." This motto has been translated for the writer by Father Wallace as "Remember your promise." Except for the motto, the above description fits the impression of the Dr. John McLoughlin coat of arms. The motto of the latter is "Vinces Virtute."

No search has been made to determine whether or not Dr. McLoughlin had the right to use this coat of arms. He used the lion rampant on most of his silver, and the motto in his personal seal. Thus far no documents have been found bearing the imprint of either the coat of arms or of his personal seal.

7. APOSTOLIC BRIEF

The souvenir that Dr. McLoughlin probably prized most among those given to the McLoughlin Memorial Association by Mrs. George Deering was an Apostolic Brief of February 27, 1846. Signed by Pope Gregory XVI, it made Dr. John McLoughlin a Knight of St. Gregory the Great of civil grade. Translated the document reads:

> GREGORY XVI POPE
>
> *To our beloved son,* JOHN McLAUGHLIN
>
> Beloved Son, Health and Apostolic Benediction. Nothing certainly gives us greater pleasure and satisfaction than to decorate with titles of honor and with special marks of Our favor men possessed of lofty gifts of mind and heart, whose glory it is to deserve well of the Apostolic See. And whereas We have been informed on the highest

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[4] John Patrick Brown, *The MacLaughlins of Clan Owen. A Study in Irish History* (Boston, 1879), 5-6.

authority that you are esteemed by all for your upright life, correct morals and zeal for religion, and that you are conspicuous for your allegiance to Ourselves and this Chair of Peter, We have therefore determined graciously to bestow on you some token of Our goodwill towards you. Desiring then to honor you in a special manner, and to this end absolving and holding you as absolved from all pain of excommunication and interdict and from other ecclesiastical censures, judgments and penalties which you may have incurred, in whatsoever manner and for whatsoever cause inflicted; We of Our Apostolic Authority do by these letters choose and constitute and declare you a Knight of St. Gregory the Great of civil grade, and We do receive you into the illustrious company and rank of the Knights of the said order. Wherefore We permit and grant that you may freely and lawfully wear the insignia of the Order, to-wit: an octagonal Cross of gold with red front bearing in the center a likeness of St. Gregory the Great, hung with a red ribbon yellow on both edges at the breast on the left side after the ordinary fashion of Knights. That no mistake be made in the wearing of this badge, We order that a likeness of said Cross be delivered to you.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on the 27th day of February, 1846, in the 16th year of Our Pontificate.

A Card. LAMBRUSCHINI.

(Papal Seal)

Dr. McLoughlin received the document after he had resigned the superintendency of the Columbia district in 1845, following a bitter controversy with Governor Sir George Simpson. The honor must have been a great comfort to him. The tradition in the family relates that he prized it as his most cherished possession. Along with the brief arrived the decoration of the Order of the Knight of St. Gregory and the ribbon as described in the Apostolic Brief.

In addition to this decoration there came, in an ivory box, two and a quarter inches in diameter, relics in the form of pieces of bones of two saints, Jean de Brebeuf and Gabriel Lalement, Jesuit missionaries, who were murdered by the Iroquois Indians in 1649. Jean de Brebeuf had established a mission among the Hurons as early as 1626. Because of Indian troubles he withdrew in 1628 and returned to France in the following year. He came back to Canada in 1633 and continued his work among the Hurons, where he remained until the Iroquois defeated the Hurons. The victors captured the missionary and his assistant Lalement, tortured and killed them.

In 1904 an ecclesiastical court examined for one year the records of the life and death of these missionaries and forwarded the findings to Rome. On June 29, 1930, Pope Pius XI completed the Canonization process of Brebeuf, Lalement, and five other Jesuits. There were two similar relics in Dr. McLoughlin's possession. They were given by Miss Winifred Glidden Myrick, another great-granddaughter of Dr. McLoughlin, to the St. John's Catholic Church of Oregon City.

8. McLOUGHLIN SILVER

In May, 1949, the writer located the inventory and appraisement of the estate of Dr. John McLoughlin in the office of the clerk of Clackamas County, Oregon. The doctor's good collection of sterling silver was appraised at $554. The inventory showed the "silver plate" as follows:

> One pair silver candelabra; one castor; one pair silver candlesticks (small); one dozen silver knives and forks (pearl handle); four (4) decanter holders; six (6) large spoons extra; three (3) pairs sugar tongs; 29 large tablespoons; 30 small forks; 27 small desert spoons; three (3) large ladles; nine (9) small ladles; three (3) fish slicers; two (2) salt spoons; four (4) egg spoons; 12 silver handle knives—dessert; one (1) toaster; one (1) fruit dish; two (2) coffee pots; two (2) tea pots; two (2) sugar dishes; two (2) cream pitchers; two (2) snuffers and trays; four (4) knife resters and two (2) butter knives.[5]

Most of the silver came into the hands of Mrs. George Deering. It bore the family crest, a lion rampant. Mrs. Deering was forced to sell much of it bearing the crest. She had the silver appraised by the director of the Metropolitan Museum in New York City. Some of it was late seventeenth century silver, and sold readily. Among the remaining pieces, there are in the McLoughlin House a tea pot, sugar bowl and tongs, long serving spoon, fish knife, two large forks, two tablespoons, two dessert spoons. The flat silver is stamped with the initial "J. Mc." It was made in Edinburgh by J. McKay in 1829, 1830, and 1831. The tea pot, sugar bowl and tongs, were manufactured in London by Joseph and Albert Savory in 1837-38. In all probability this silver was acquired in London by Dr. McLoughlin in the winter of 1838-39.

There are also nine other silver teaspoons and two soup ladles. According to their hallmarks they were made in London by Paul Storr in 1811. The marks are on the bowls of the spoon rather than on the handles, doubtless due to the fact that the decorations on the handles left no space for them.

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[5] Barker (ed.), *Financial Papers of Dr. McLoughlin,* p. 17.

When one considers that Dr. McLoughlin had all this silver at Fort Vancouver prior to the arrival of the first wagon train of immigrants in 1843, one can imagine the table display he was able to make for sea captains, fur traders, and travelers who called and graced his table, to say nothing of the impression he must have made on the early pioneers who saw his household at Fort Vancouver or later at Oregon City. It was an array such as few families in Oregon were able to equal for many years.

9. McLOUGHLIN DINING TABLE

At Fort Vancouver Dr. John McLoughlin could make an unusually fine display with the dining table and chairs, probably twenty-four in number, which the Hudson's Bay Company sent him from London. When extended the table is long enough to seat twelve persons comfortably. Table and chairs are solid mahogany, Georgian in style, a characteristic set of the period.[6] The pair of candelabra, approximately twenty-four inches high, with silver tray and snuffer at hand, appropriately spaced on the table, flanking the sterling silver fruit dish, or castor as the occasion required, with the complete coffee or tea set at the end, supplemented by the pearl handled knives and forks with the accompanying spoons at each place, together with the dessert spoon and fork at the front of the plate, would be a setting to cheer the heart of any guest. Add to this picture the domineering figure of the doctor at the head of the table, four decanters in silver holders on the sideboard, and his kilted bag-piper calling the tunes, and you have a spectacle repeated often at the fort.

"Those who sat at the long table in the great hall at Fort Vancouver,"– Philip H. Parrish suggests the scene –"with the candle light flickering on the heaped platters, lived in this shadow of death. Bronzed, hard-bitten men, they were. And if they faced danger on the morrow it did not affect their appetites tonight. Great talkers, rude jesters, some of them great liars, as is the way with men on the frontier." [7] Seated at the table might be James Douglas, Peter Skene Ogden, Tom McKay, the captain of a company vessel just arrived with supplies from London, a captain of a trading vessel in the river, Jedediah Smith, telling of his loss at the hands of the Southern Oregon Indians, Nathaniel J. Wyeth, a merchant of Boston, or John Ball, the first school teacher of the Oregon country. Carefree for the night, they indulged in the luxury of a table setting hardly ever dreamed of by these men, but enjoyed, causing them to forget tomorrow and its ever threatening death. Such was a night with London's best table and hallmarked silver at Fort Vancouver.

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[6] The table and ten chairs are in the McLoughlin House in Oregon City.

[7] Philip H. Parrish, *Before the Covered Wagon* (Portland, 1931), 254.

Appendix V

Manor House of Mount Murray[1]

The original manor house of Mount Murray built by Malcolm Fraser in which his children were born, has disappeared. It was a frame building. A new manor house of stone was built by his son William, who had become seignior under Malcolm Fraser's will. The mixture used to bind the stones together was little more than plaster. As a result this binder gradually disintegrated. During an earthquake, on February 14, 1925, the old binder was shaken out. When it became necessary to take the stones down, a tablet was discovered recording that the corner stone of the new house had been laid on July 7, 1827, and that the house had been built by William Fraser and his wife, Matilde Duberger. The inscription also recited that the ceremonies had taken place in the presence of Messieurs Dugnay, the local Curé, and G. B. Faribeault, Esq., a lawyer, and his wife, Julie Plante, and nine other named witnesses. One of them was Christiana Emmery Nairne "in her 86th year of age," the widow of John Nairne, Seignior of Murray Bay. Another witness was Dame Magdalen McNicoll, the oldest daughter of John Nairne.

Although the stones had to be taken down, the interior frame work and the partitions remained in place. The old stones were relaid on the outside, leaving the house as it had been built by William Fraser in 1827. During the restoration of the manor house, Francis Higginson and Maud Bonner Cabot installed the following tablet:

> On the 23rd of July, 1925, this cornerstone was laid by Francis Higginson Cabot and Maud Cabot, his wife, Seignior of Mount Murray, the house being rebuilt after the earthquake of the 14th of February 1925.

At the death of William Fraser (1830), Mount Murray passed into the hands of his brother, John Malcolm Fraser, and at his death in 1860 the property passed by will to his two daughters, the elder of whom, Mrs. Reeve, finally came into possession of the estate. Mrs. Reeve died in 1879 and left the use of her property to her husband, Colonel Reeve. At his death in 1888, his son, John Fraser Reeve, a great-grandson of Malcolm Fraser, became Seignior. In 1902 he sold the Seigniory to George T. Bonner of New York, a Canadian by birth. At his death the property passed to his daughter, Maud, who became the wife of Francis Higginson Cabot of Boston. Widowed, she is now the Seignioress of the estate.

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[1] See illustrations herein, at pages 63 and 65.

The restored manor house stands, as did the original one, on Cap à L'Aigle commanding a magnificent view of the waters of Malbaie and of the St. Lawrence. The Cabots have also added a new wing on one side, and an extensive covered and partly enclosed outdoor terrace on the other. They erected ample garage and other service buildings and enlarged and beautified the gardens. The Seigniory of Mount Murray is now one of the most beautiful of the district. The vicinity of Malbaie and Rivière-du-Loup is today a popular summer resort. Many Americans have summer houses in both places. Malbaie became known as the summer retreat of Senator Robert A. Taft and of his father, President William Howard Taft.

Appendix VI
Final Disposition of the Estate of Dr. John McLoughlin

By his will, Dr. John McLoughlin left his estate equally to his son, David, his daughter, Eloisa, and her husband, Daniel Harvey. David sold his interest to Daniel Harvey for $25,000.[1] Thus, the entire estate of Dr. McLoughlin passed into the hands of Daniel Harvey and his wife, Eloisa, valued at $142,585.02, net.[2]

Daniel Harvey moved to Portland, Oregon, and became a resident of Multnomah county. He died at the Dalles City, Wasco County, December 5, 1868.[3] By his will he appointed his widow, Eloisa, as his executrix, and Joseph K. Ralston and Aaron E. Wait, executors. The widow, Eloisa, was not conversant with business and executor Ralston soon resigned, leaving the management of the estate in the hands of executor Wait.

The inventory showed personal property of $50,900.75 and real estate of $38,104.50. This latter amount is smaller than the inventory in the estate of Dr. McLoughlin, because Harvey had previously disposed of much of the real estate to his widow and children.

Executor Wait filed reports from time to time until September 4, 1878. By this time the estate had become so involved that the heirs and devisees filed objections on October 7, 1878, with J. N. Dolph, of the firm of Dolph, Bronaugh, Dolph & Simon, as attorney. The estate was so involved that on January 6, 1879 the court appointed three persons to act as referees to determine the status of it. On April 30, 1880, the referees filed their report after many long and spirited hearings.

This report showed personal property of $73,252.05, and real estate of

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[1] *The Financial Papers of Dr. John McLoughlin* edited by Burt Brown Barker, (Oregon Historical Society, 1949), 35.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 15.

[3] See file number 251, Probate Records Room, Multnomah County Court House, Portland, Oregon.

$38,020.00, making the total estate $111,272.05. Thus it was about $30,000 less than the original estate left by Dr. John McLoughlin.

Under the terms of the will of Daniel Harvey, after making specific devises to his two sons and a daughter, his widow Eloisa was given the rest and residue for the care and maintenance of herself and her children.

Eloisa Harvey died October 24, 1884, leaving a will dated June 22, 1883, which was filed for probate in Multnomah county, November 11, 1884.[4]

Eloisa had first married William Glen Rae, by whom she had three children. Thus, in her will, she made specific devises to these three children, as well as to the two sons and a daughter she had as the wife of Daniel Harvey.

She appointed her son, James William McLoughlin Harvey, the sole executor of her will without bond, and after the specific devises to her other children, gave him the rest and residue of her estate.

Apparently executor James William McLoughlin Harvey was a bit on the lax side in managing the estate, but had done it, as he thought, with the knowledge and consent of the other heirs and devisees. As a result, his sister, Mrs. Daniel Leahy, on December 28, 1885, filed a petition to have her brother removed as executor. After a heated contest he was removed as executor and one B. P. Cardwell was appointed administrator with the will annexed and he finally closed the estate by filing his final account on February 9, 1887. Thus the estate of Dr. John McLoughlin ultimately passed through three wills to his grandchildren, after several legal contests with attendant family scars.

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[4] See file number 1100, *ibid.*

Appendix VII
Two Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin

1. DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN, RE JASON LEE, TO DANIEL WILLIAMS HARMON[1]

Fort Vancouver, March 10, 1835

My Dear Sirs: Although it is a long time since I have had the pleasure to see, or even to hear from you, I am certain you will do me the justice to believe, that during that time I have often thought of you, and the pleasing moments I have had in your society, and that I would have written to you long ago, but that I did not know where to direct my letter to you until a few days ago, being informed by the Rev. Mr. Jason Lee[2] of the place where you resided. Mr. Lee told me he called on you previous to leaving the states, to settle as a missionary among the Flat Head Indians. He came directly to this place, and is settled on the banks of the Willimitte [*sic*], where he is beginning a farm, and when that is formed I believe his plan is to go to the Flat Heads, or where else he thinks he can be most useful. And I think his beginning here, by making a farm, is the best plan he can adopt to insure success in his laudable undertaking, as it will give him the means of collecting his proselytes around him, keep them under his eye, accustom them to labor, and while they are learning the truths of the Gospel, they are at the same time taught agriculture, which will enable them to live more comfortably than before. These Indians will receive Christian instruction with avidity, as they are not spoiled with liquor as those about Lake La Pluie, or Rainy Lake, and those places. And though formerly, as you know, hostile to us, they are, I am happy to say, much changed. Formerly it required from thirty to forty armed men to go up and down the Columbia. At present it would be safe to do so with one man. But though so at present, they are Indians, and, as you know, would require little to arouse them.

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[1] Daniel Williams Harmon (1778-1845), a native of Vermont, entered the employ of the North West Company in 1800, serving on the Sasketchewan and in the Athabaska district. In 1810 he was transferred to New Caledonia. Harmon returned to Montreal in 1819 and retired from the fur trade. His journals were edited and published by the Reverend Daniel Haskel, of Andover, Massachusetts, under the title *Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America* (Andover, 1820). Harmon spent the later years of his life on the shores of Lake Champlain. In 1805 he married in the West a French half-breed; by her he had fourteen children. A copy of Dr. McLoughlin's letter was forwarded by N. W. Aspenwall of Irasburg, Vermont, on January 19, 1836, to the *Christian Advocate and Journal* for publication. The letter "was addressed to Mr. Harmon, of Coventry, Vt.," Aspenwall explained, "who has kindly favored me with the privilege of copying it for insertion in your paper, if you judge it of sufficient importance to the missionary cause to justify its insertion. I would remark that Mr. Harmon was once in the employ of the fur trading company, and that his wife is a native of Oregon. Mr. Harmon is a very prosperous farmer and respectable citizen. He and his wife are members of the Congregational Church in Coventry." Dr. McLoughlin's letter was published in the *Christian Advocate and Journal* February 12, 1836 (New York) vol. x, p. 100.

[2] Jason Lee (1803-1845), Methodist missionary, assigned to the mission field in the Flathead Indian country of the Far West, came to Fort Vancouver on September 15, 1834. He abandoned the Flathead project in favor of the Willamette Valley and established a Methodist Mission to the Indians in the vicinity of present-day Salem.

I came back to the country in 1822,[3] passed winters 1822-3 and 1823-4 at Lake La Pluie, and since that time have been in charge of this department, wintering constantly at this place, where I have made an extensive farm. Last fall I had 3000 bushels of peas, 4000 bushels of wheat, 1000 of oats, and 1000 of barley, beside Indian corn and other grain. I found 17 cows in 1824, and have raised the stock to 600 head. The climate is mild. We are not required to make hay for our cattle, as they feed out all winter. The soil is very fair at this place. It averages about twenty bushels per acre, and the wheat weights seventy pounds per bushel. At the Willimitte [*sic*] the soil is about the same. But where grazing is so abundant and cattle raised so easily, the soil can be improved to any degree that is required. Our apple trees are so loaded with fruit, that Mr. Lee told me he never saw young trees that could be compared with them for the quantity of fruit, and of the most excellent quality. In short, it is a fine country, and I am certain if it was more *comeatible* it would soon be settled, as it is a finer country than either New-York or Canada. There are several of our old keepers in the Snake country, making farms for themselves Thomas

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[3] Dr. John McLoughlin was in London, in 1821, during the negotiations that led to the merger of the North West Company with the Hudson's Bay Company. He returned to Canada, but went again to Europe in the fall of 1821 and spent the winter with his brother David in France. In the following year he came back to Canada. Dr. John McLoughlin was ailing from the consequences of a canoe accident in which he almost lost his life.

M'Kay[4] has made a most beautiful place, and I am told that Simon M'Galleny returns this year from the concern, and joins M'Kay. Mr. Wyatt,[5] an American gentleman from Boston, is going to establish a salmon fishery here, and has also begun a farm in Mr. Lee's vicinity.

But to return to ourselves. What a change has taken place in the country since you left it. Few of the old hands are left, and this number is constantly diminishing. I now seem surrounded by strangers, because they are of so much later date in it than my self. As to my own family, my oldest daughter[6] is married and lives in Quebec. Two of my sons are in France, studying with my brother.[7] The youngest daughter[8] and my other son[9] are with me.

My compliments and madams to Elizabeth, (Mrs. Harmon,) and I need not say how happy I shall be to hear from you, and believe me to be yours truly, J. M'LAUGHLIN

N.B. I have built a grist and saw mill, and have a school at this place, and I am certain that you will be pleased to hear that the Indians have received Mr. Lee with the greatest kindness. By the by, he desired me to remember him to you.

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[4] Thomas McKay (1797-1849), son of Dr. John McLoughlin's wife, Marguerite Wadin, by a previous union with Alexander McKay, settled in the early 1830s as farmer at French Prairie in the Willamette Valley. He continued to serve as Indian guide and fur trader for the Hudson's Bay Company. He took part in the Cayuse War and during the California gold rush was the leader of a wagon train from Oregon.

[5] Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth (1802-1856), born at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in March, 1832, left Boston with a company of twenty-one men and marched overland to Oregon. Wyeth and eight men arrived at Fort Vancouver in October, the others having deserted or died. His shipload of supplies never reached Oregon. He returned overland with two half-breed Indian guides and arrived in Boston in November, 1833. He was back at Fort Vancouver in September, 1834, accompanied by the missionary party of Jason Lee. He established Fort William on Sauvies Island, at the mouth of the Willamette River, as a trading post, and shipped lumber and salmon to Hawaii. He failed, returned to Boston, and re-entered the ice business, sending the product to the West Indies for consumption.

[6] Marie Elisabeth (Eliza) Eppes.

[7] Dr. John McLoughlin intended that John and David should study in Paris under the tutelage of his brother, Dr. David McLoughlin. The plan never materialized.

[8] Eloisa McLoughlin.

[9] Joseph McLoughlin (1809-1848), oldest child of Dr. John McLoughlin and a Chippewa Indian woman of Red River descent, settled as a farmer near Champoeg. He served on the committee to draft a code of law for the Provisional government. On July 5, 1843, at the third Champoeg meeting, he moved the adoption of the first article.

2. DR. McLOUGHLIN, RE OREGON CITY LAND CLAIM, TO ALEXANDER H. H. STUART[10]

Oregon City 15th July 1851

To The Honbl. Alexr. H. H. Stewart
Secretary of State for the Home Department
Washington

Sir; I beg leave to state, that in 1829 I took Oregon City Claim, and made improvements on it. In 1842 I began to erect Mills – in 1843 I had it surveyed by Jesse Applegate[11] Esquire and recorded in the record Book of Land claims in Oregon Territory inaccordance with the Organic Law. Copy of which and of the record of Claim I forward with this. Since 1845 I have permanently resided on it.– Part of my claim was fenced previous to 1846, and all previous to the 4th March 1849, and I filed my intention to become an American Citizen on the 30th May of the same year, as will be seen by the accompanying certificate.– The late Mr. Thurston[12] the Delegate to Congress from this Territory said I refused to file my intention to become an American Citizen.– In my letter of the 12th September 1850 I stated he must be cognisant of the fact – in reply in his speech in Congress on the 26th December 1850 he admitted he was aware, I had filed, what he says, I called a declaration of my intention, to become an American Citizen – but stated he had Judge Bryants[13] authority for asserting that my declaration was not such as the law required – in answer I beg to state my declaration was drawn up by the Clerk of Judge Bryants Court.

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[10] Alexander Hugh Holmes Stuart (1807-1891) served as Secretary of the Interior in the Fillmore administration. The writer's copy of the letter is in the archives of the Oregon Historical Society in Portland; it is published here for the first time.

[11] Jesse Applegate (1811-1888), one of the leaders of the "great migration" of 1843, surveyed the Oregon City townsite in the following year.

[12] Samuel Royal Thurston (1816-1851), first Oregon Territorial delegate to Congress, engineered the passage of the Donation Land Law for Oregon Territory in 1850. One of his measures, the notorious eleventh clause, set Dr. John McLoughlin's Oregon City land claim apart as a grant to a future University of Oregon, except Abernethy Island owned by people antagonistic to McLoughlin, and such lots as had been sold by McLoughlin. The act of Congress specifically barred alien settlers; they were given until December 1, 1850, to declare intentions to become citizens of the United States.

[13] William P. Bryant (1806-1860), first Chief Justice of Oregon Territory, on August 20, 1849, held his first term of court at Oregon City. He left Oregon early in 1850, after serving but six months of his two-year term.

In 1850 the Judges of Election refused my vote, as the United States Court was sitting at the time. I brought the case before his Honor Judge Pratt [14] who decided that my declaration of intention was legal and that I had a right to vote.– I voted and have done so ever since.

Abernethys Island [at the falls] which I took as part of my claim in 1829, was Jumped in 1841 by Methodist Missionaries and others, who formed themselves into a Company by the name of the Willamette Milling Company and subsequently they all sold out to George Abernethy [15] Esquire one of the Missionaries and one of the Original Stock holders of the Milling Company.

After we had Organized a temporary Government, I consulted P. H. Burnett [16] Esquire, late Governor of California then a Citizen of this Territory with the intention of taking legal Measures to get rightful possession of Abernethy Island he told me he considered my right to the Island as undoubted but as agitating the question then might lead to trouble in this Country and as postponing the question could not invalidate my right, he recommended me to defer bringing the question forward till the Government of the United States extended its jurisdiction over the Country, when the Courts could cause their decisions to be peaceably carried into effect for these reasons especially as I considered that quarrels between British Subjects and American Citizens in this Territory might cause a war between the United States and Great Britain, as then a British subject and as intending to become a Citizen of the United States I considered I was bound in duty to the Country I left and the Country I adopted and as a Christian to do all I could to arest so dreadful an evil from them, I therefore followed Mr. Burnets advice – whether my fears were well founded or not is not for me to say.– I merely state the impression in my mind.

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[14] Orville C. Pratt (1819-1891) came to Oregon as the pioneer judge of the Supreme Court of Oregon in 1849 and exercised all the power of the judiciary until the end of 1853.

[15] George Abernethy (1807-1877), first and only Provisional Governor of Oregon from 1845 to 1849, had come to Oregon to assume the financial management of the Methodist Mission on the Willamette. He early became one of the leading businessmen of the Pacific Northwest.

[16] Peter Hardeman Burnett (1807-1895), a member of the "great migration" of 1843, in the following year was chosen one of nine legislative committee members of the Provisional government. In 1845 he became judge of the Supreme Court, and, in 1848, was elected to the legislature of the new Territorial government. He had already left Oregon for the California mines when President James Polk appointed him Supreme Court Justice. In 1850 he became California's first governor.

After the Government of the United States had extended its jurisdiction over the Territory,– a short time after the Arrival of W. P. Bryant Esquire the Supreme Judge of the United States Court of this Territory and before the Courts were organized – he bought Abernethys Island, from George Abernethy Esquire and as the Island was in Judge Bryants District and as there was only one other Judge his honor Judge Pratt in the Territory, from ignorance of the law at which I presume you will not be surprised when you know I have been forty eight years in the Indian Country – I thought as Judge Bryant was an interested party I could not bring the case forward till the bench was full which did not take place till this Spring. In the meantime Congress passed the Oregon land Bill,– part of my claim Abernethy Island is confirmed by Congress to the legal Assigns of the Willamette Milling and trading Company, and the remainder

> shall be set apart and be at the disposal of the Legislative Assembly to the establishment and endorsement of a University to be located at such a place in the Territory as the Legislative Assembly may designate provided however that all the Lots in said claim sold or granted by Dr. John McLaughlin previous to the fourth day of March eighteen hundred and forty nine, shall be confirmed to the purchaser or Donee or Assigns to be certified to the Commissioner of the General Land Office by the Surveyor General and patents to issue on said Certificate as in other cases Provided further that nothing in this Act contained shall be construed or executed as in any way to destroy or effect any right to land in said Territory holden or claimed under the provisions of the treaty or treaties existing between this Country and Great Britain.

The circumstance being such as I have the honor to relate I respectfully request the Government to designate the extent of my right to Oregon City claim.– I send you a Copy of Judge Bryants letter to the Honbl. H. J. Brown and of my answer as to Mr. Thurstons. I had referred noticing his conduct till he was here to prove before his and my fellow Citizens that he made statements against me which he must have have [sic] known to be false and that some facts which he stated he intentionally made a false deduction from them and though unfortunately for me my conduct has been grossly misrepresented by malicious and designing persons to the government I left and the Government I adopt.– Still I am certain every upright honest Citizen of this Territory acquainted with its History will testify that I exerted my utmost endeavour to render it the happy residence of civilized man and though the first immigrants underwent great misery and suffered many hardships as the first immigrants to all New Countries must. – Yet I am certain they will admit I did all I could to assist them and but for my exertions there sufferings would have been much greater – having acted in good faith I trust the Government will do me justice and not allow me to be the victim of Malice and I hope the unexpected state in which I find myself placed will be considered by you as an apology for the liberty I take in troubling you with this.[17]

I am With great Respect Your Obed. & humble Servant

(signed) JOHN McLAUGHLIN

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[17] Thurston's measure that stripped McLoughlin of his land claim was remedied five years after the doctor's death, when the Oregon legislature confirmed the unsold part of the claim in his legatees.

Appendix VIII
The Ker Letters[1]

1. MALCOLM FRASER TO JAMES KER

Murray Bay Canada 5th Octr 1809

My Dear Sir Yours of the 10th April I had the pleasure of receiving here for Miss Mary Nairne on the 23d June last and I now inclose the Duplicate of Mrs McNicols Accounts with you till the 13th Febry inclusive transcribed and approved of by herself on the 12th Septr last. I communicated to Mrs McNicol and to Miss Christine Nairne the part of your Letter regarding the Legacies you mention and to which neither they nor I could have any objections. I saw Miss Christine a few days ago at Quebec and she promised to write to you this Fall and to transmit you a Duplicate of your last Accounts with her. Miss Polly Nairne is now here and says she will pass next winter with her mother and I think she will do well and Miss Christine says she will do so also but am afraid she will be too far from assistance as she was very unwell last winter and does not seem to be yet quite recovered tho' much better than she was sometime ago. I will therefor advise her to remain where she is till next Spring as there is no getting to or from Quebec during the winter except on snow shoes and our medical people do not often chuse to travel in that manner. I had heard of your son Captain Ker's return to Europe and alas! I have since heard of his death in Portugal and I do most sincerely condole with you & Mrs Ker. But we ought at all times to be resigned to the Will of Providence and his life tho' short was most honourable.

I am happy to find that you and I coincide in opinion as to Capt Thos Nairne's remaining with his Regt. Till it is sent home or till more peaceable times I most sincerely wish to see my Godson before my departure out of this world. But do not think that his friends can with propriety ask leave of absence for him (were they even sure to obtain it) whilst he is on service, I had the honour of seeing lately His Excellency Sir James Henry Craig our Governor but had not an opportunity of entering into much conversation. I hope to return to Quebec soon and will endeavour to mention Captain Nairne to his Excellency and I flatter myself that he will procure leave for the Capt to pay us a visit here as soon as it can be asked with propriety but if you think it proper to mention the Captain to your Cousin the General this might perhaps be of use when any future application can be made.*[1] By the latest accounts we have had in this country from Germany it is said that the Austrians have been defeated by the French and that the former had been compelled to sign an Armistice very disadvantageous for them. If this is true I am afraid that Great Britain cannot at this time obtain an honourable Peace and I hope she will never be compelled to accept of any other. We in this Country have not much to fear whilst our neighbours the American States keep quiet as they seem to be at present.*[2] Mrs Nairne Mrs Macnicol and Miss Polly Nairne join me in most respectful Compliments to you and Mrs Ker and to Mrs Rowland *[3] and I ever am

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[1] The originals of these letters are the property of Mr. J. A. Gray, The Manor, La Malbaie, P. Quebec, Canada.

My dear Sir Your most faithful & obedt servant MFF
JAMES KER Esqr Leith Bank
By Edinburgh

*[1] My opinion at present is that Capt Nairne should continue to serve till he obtains the rank of Major and then when it can be done with propriety that he should exchange on half pay if he chuses when his rank will go on full or half pay after he can get the rank of Field Officer and he may remain on half pay or return to as he chuses.

*[2] I return you my thanks for the notice you was pleased to take of my Grandson David Macloughlin and have no doubt of your befriending him if it lays in your power

*[3] I think myself bound in Justice to report to you that Mrs Nairne behaves with great prudence and propriety in her own and in her childrens affairs at this Country.

P.S. I have wrote the inclosed for Capt Nairne which you will please seal and forward if you think proper.

Draft
Letter to James Ker Esqr
5th Octr 1809

2. MALCOLM FRASER TO JAMES KER

River du Loup below Quebec 11th Septr 1810

My Dear Sir Yours of the 30th March I had the pleasure of receiving on the 2nd June last and I delivered their Accounts which you inclosed to me, to Mrs McNicol, Miss Christina and Miss Mary Nairne and before I left Murray Bay about 18 days ago caused the accounts to be transcribed by each of them with their approbation of them and I hope they will answer your purpose as I know they are forwarded to you by this time. I find it is needless to say any more at this time about our friend Captain Nairnes remaining on full Pay in the Army but I wish, as you do, that he could procure an Exchange on half pay in case he may hereafter wish to return, and I hope every means will be used for his so doing. His Estate in this Country may with proper management be much improved but can never become very considerable as it consists chiefly of Mountains and rocks in the most Northern part of North America where any cultivation has hitherto been attempted. Mrs Nairne, his mother, has done more than could have been expected and that with no very great expence and I wish him to follow the example and go on slow and sure. I am infinitely obliged to you and Mr Fraser of Ford for the attention you paid to my recommendation of my grandson David McLoughlin and return you thanks for the money you advanced to him (£ 80 Ster.) and I have wrote at this time to Mr Fraser and inclosed a Bill of Exchange for £ 150 Str in order to repay both of you and I hope McLoughlin has long ago received a Bill for £ 100 Str which one of his Uncles, Simon, sent to him last Winter and that if he has, it may releive him till a further remittance can be made of which I myself am quite incapable and also unwilling But as his other relations were the advisers of his going I think them bound to bring him clear out of Scotland tho' if he has received the remittances already made to him, he must have expended much more than either I or his other friends expected and than he had any right to look for from them and I hope this will teach him better oeconomy in future. And I have and will do everything in my Power to Prevail with his connections here to send him some further remittances this fall and which I am neither able or willing to do myself.

Your Relation our Governor General I am told is very well and very popular with those under his Government I had the honour of dining with him last Year, and I intend to go soon to Quebec when I will pay him my respects. When I left Murray Bay Your friends there were all well and I suppose most of them have wrote you – I beg my best respects to Mrs Ker and family and I ever am Dear Sir

Your most obedient and faithful Servant

James Ker Esqr
Leith Bank near Edinburgh North Britain
Copy Letter sent by Mff to James Ker Esqr
11th Septr 1810

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3. MALCOLM FRASER TO JAMES KER

Quebec 9th Febry 1811
10 oClock Evening

My Dear Sir Captain Nairne showed me about two hours ago a Letter which he intends to forward from him to you by an opportunity which offers from this to New York tomorrow morning and wherein he does me the Justice to mention that I do not approve of his changing too frequently from one Country or from one Corps or Climate to another when it can be avoided with honor & propriety and that for various reasons. But chiefly because the Corps of Newfoundland Fencibles wherein he at present holds the rank of Captain is serving and likely to remain in Canada where his present concerns are situated he can thus look after them with more propriety and attention than any where else and I by no means wish him to quit the Army. And there is no doubt but that on a peace the Officers of his present Corps will all be put on half pay. But as I have not had sufficient time to reflect on this matter I referr it to your more mature consideration tho' I must mention that I by no means approve of his changing into the Cavalry as, if he does change, it may prevent his ever returning to Canada.

I wrote you of the 11th Septr last and which I hope you have received long ere now and that Mr. Fraser of Ford has received payment of a draft for £ 150 Str on a house in London MacTavish & Co/ which would enable him to repay you the £ you was so very good as to advance to David McLoughlin on my recommendation. I every day expect another Bill for at least £ 100. Str. to be transmitted by some of Davids friends who are far back in the wilderness and which I will lose no time in forwarding for his use. I beg you to be so good as tell Mr. Fraser of Ford that I am in good health but have no time to write him at present. [illegible ——]

Your Cousin our Governor is well and generally respected by those under his Government. I beg my best compliments to Mrs. Rowland and to Mrs. Ker and family and ever am

Yours most sincerely MFF

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4. JAMES KER TO MALCOLM FRASER

Leith Bank 3d April 1811

My Dear Sir I received your favour of the 11th September on the 3d of December last & I have also got forwarded to me the amounts I furnished Mrs. McNicol, Miss Christina & Miss Mary Nairne last spring transcribed and approven of by them, for which I thank you. This will be forwarded to you by John Stewart Esq Mercht in Quebec, who has kindly taken charge of this & a few other Letters, but I find I am too much pushed for time to send my annual accounts by him. A ship is however to sail from Leith in about ten days, by which I intend to write, you, Captn Nairne & the Ladies with a statement of all their amounts & to send them a packing Box or two, of which I beg you'll acquaint them should this reach you before the arrival of the Leith Vessell. You will, I hope, ere now, have met with Captn Nairne. I long to know how he likes Murray Bay & if he has formed any plan for his future Life: I have some doubts of his relishing the farmer Life were he fairly to try it; the winters at Murray Bay, are, in my opinion, too long & too severe; If he could afford to purchase a little Land in upper Canada where the Climate is more propitious, it might perhaps, answer better.

Your grandson Dr McLoughlin left this two days ago for Canada. His uncles have not sent him a Shilling for a great length of time & knowing him to be a good, studious young man, neither given to extravagance nor dissipation, but cruelly embarrassed & disappointed by the non-arrival of his uncles' long promised Remittances, Mr Fraser & I found that if we did not immediately relieve him of some pressing debts, he run a risk of being thrown into Jail. I have, therefore, been obliged to advance him £ 120 – & I have got his Dft at six months dat[e] and Simon Fraser, Terre Bonne, payable in Leith,– of which Mr Stewart has taken Charge to get presented to Dr Fraser for acceptance, which I trust he will not refuse & that he will remit me the amount by a Bill on London or Edinburgh. Should your Son refuse Payment of this debt, after what you wrote me, I know that my claim on you is small indeed, but Mr Fraser and I thought it better to run the Risk of a Loss, than to allow your Grandson to fall into the disgraceful situation of a Prisoner for Debt. Mr Stewart is also to forward a Letter from me to Dr Fraser on the Subject of his Nephew. Mr Fraser of Ford promises to write you soon & by him you'll hear any particulars I may have omitted.

Mrs. Ker requests her best compliments: She & the remains of my family are well & my son's wife has brought us the addition of a grand Daughter.

I remain with great Regard Your most faithful & obedient humble Servant – JAMES KER.

JAMES KER Esqr Leith Bank
recd at River duLoup 4th June 1811
Ansd 14th Oct 1811

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5. JAMES KER TO MALCOLM FRASER

LEITH BANK 22d April 1811

MY DEAR SIR I wrote you on the 3d Instant by Mr. John Stewart mercht in Quebec, but as he was to go by Liverpool & was not sure but that he might go via New York, this letter may possibly reach you before it, as this goes by the Tyger Captn John Smith Junr, who sails from Leith in a day or two. Your favour of the 9th of Febry, along with a long Letter from Captain Nairne, reached me a few days ago & I must own, that as I have a sincere regard for Nairne, I feel much disappointed at his vascillation & want of steadiness & I can never give my approbation to his new plans, which appear to me wild, absurd & impracticable. When he was in London, he, in vain, attempted to get an Exchange into half pay from a regular Regiment, the 10th, & I fancy, situated as he is now in Canada, & in a fencible Corps, he will find such an Exchange still more difficult to be made. As to his purchasing a troop of Dragoons, that is, for the Present, totally out of the question, as the Difference between a Company in a *regular Infantry Regiment* & a troop of Dragoons, as at *the regulated Price, at least* £1500, what it will be between a *fencible Corps* & *a troop,* I know not, but I should suppose (if it could at all be effected) it must be a good deal more & all the money that he has in my hands only amounts to £ 987.15.10. Besides you & I know that the Cavalry service is a most expensive one & from what I know of Tom's temper & habits, though an excellent good hearted young man & given to no vice, yet economy is none of his virtues & were he never so willing, yet I am quite sure that as a

Captain of Dragoons, he could not possibly live on his Pay & by getting into Debt, his ruin would be very soon accomplished. It is true that on the Death of his Aunt Rowland, he will succeed to about £ 3800, but though her Life is unfortunately a very precarious one yet there is no saying how long providence may be pleased to spare her to us & were Tom to *anticipate* the spending of it, it would go a very short way indeed! Hearing of our successes in Portugal, seems, of a sudden, to have inspired him with a thirst for glory,– but the service *there* is already, I hope, mostly at an End by the French being driven out of the Country & were he again to exchange into a regular *Infantry Corps,* how could he be sure of going to Portugal? He might be ordered back to Sicily (which he so much disliked) or he might be sent to the West Indies, where the Yellow Fever might soon do his Business. If he exchanged into the Newfoundland Fencibles merely to pay a visit to Canada, he did it at a ridiculous Expense, as General Fox kindly offered to get him a twelve month's Leave of absence, if he remained in the 10", to enable him to visit Canada: But Tom's Ideas, at *that time,* were totally different, as he thought of nothing but of settling at Murray Bay & turning farmer, whatever he may say *now.* I confess I had my doubts of his continuing steady to such a plan of Life & therefore wished him not to quit the army altogether. In short, my Dr Sir, I agree completely with you in highly disapproving of his changing from one Country or Corps to another too frequently without an adequate Cause & from all that he has written on the subject, he shows no good Cause for such hopping & Changing. He ought undoubtedly to be contented with his present situation, serving in a Corps in his native Land where he can live most comfortably on his pay, & though not absolutely his own Master, yet he must undoubtedly have frequent opportunities of visiting his Estate & Family & of course of ordering & superintending, to a certain degree, such Improvements as may be necessary. On the whole, he is in a most happy situation if he would but think so – & he ought to discourage that restless, volatile disposition, which is, in my opinion, degrading – to the Dignity of a man & will lower him in the Esteem of his Friends and well-wishers.

In mine by Mr Stewart, I mentioned to you that your grandson having fallen into very distressed circumstances from not receiving the promised Remittances from his Uncles, I had, with the approbation of Mr Fraser of Ford, (who became bound to me for one half of it) advanced Dr McLoughlin £ 120–, to keep him out of Prison & to enable him to proceed to Canada by way of London, which he immediately did. He granted me his Bill of Exchange on Dr Simon Fraser of Terrebonne at 6 months for the amount & Mr Stewart has kindly taken Charge of a Letter from me to

Dr. Fraser & also of the Bill which he is to get presented to him for acceptance & for which I hope he will remit me with his Conveniency either on London or Leith. From what you say in your Last concerning Dr McLoughlin, I have no fear for my money were Dr Fraser to refuse acceptance & I have communicated what you desire me on the subject to Mr Fraser of Ford.

Along with this I have transmitted States of accounts between me & Coll Nairne's three Daughters for last year, also Captn Nairne's account for the same period & three amounts regarding his Late Aunts' Succession, all of which I wish to be submitted to your Inspection, if you will be so kind as to take the trouble of it, as from your knowledge of Business, you will be much more able to judge of their accuracy & to explain such parts of them as they may not understand. Should anything appear obscure in them to you, I shall, on being written to, give every explanation in my power.

I always am, My Dear Sir, Your most obedt & most faithful humble Servant JAMES KER.

Mrs. Rowland & my wife request me to send you their best Compliments.

COLL MALCOLM FRASER Quebec

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6. MALCOLM FRASER TO JAMES KER

MURRAY BAY CANADA 14th Octr 1811

MY DEAR SIR Yours of 3d April I had the pleasure of receiving on the 4th July last and am glad to find that all my Letters have reached you as also those of Mrs Mcnicol and of Miss Christina and Miss Mary Nairne they are to write you at this time and which I intend to inclose with this. I am much flattered that you agree in opinion with me as to my Godson Capt Nairne but at the same time not a little mortifyed that we hitherto have had good reasons for such opinion. I have now however the consolation to find that he is by no means irreclaimable and that I think him incapable of any imoral or mean action and that he seems to hearken to the lectures of his old Godfather Tho' not perhaps alwise delivered in the most delicate Stile. He left this place on the 22 September having had leave of absence from his Regt for six months most of which he spent here and seemed much pleased and more attentive to his rural affairs than I expected and he quitted us with some regret all which has much altered my opinion, and I can with pleasure say that it is, at present, in his favour. My (*present*) plan now is that he should continue on full pay till he attains the rank of Major by brevet or otherwise, and then, if he chuses, he may exchange and retire on the half of whatever full pay he holds at the time and as soon as such exchange can be accomplished *with decency and propriety* and which I am not quite clear it can be in the present situation of public affairs and at his age and fitness for service. In short I am convinced you will believe me when I say that next to my own nearest connections, my chief attention will be paid to Captain Nairne and the other connections of his late Father with whom I had the happiness to live in Friendship and intimacy from our first meeting (1757) till his Decease (1802) and [illegible ——]

Now as to my Grandson David McLoughlin I doubt if he ever can and am sure I never can be sufficiently grateful for the great kindness you was pleased to show him. On Receipt of yours of the 4th April I immediately wrote to Doctor Fraser of Terrebonne but did not receive his Answer till 28th July when he writes me thus "A few days before the Receipt of yours I had accepted Mr Kerrs draft and have this day paid it. I write Mr Kerr by this Post" But I had before I recd Dr Fraser's answer wrote to a Mr John McCord merchant of Quebec by all means to take up your draft on Doctor Fraser for £ 120 Sterl and I received Mr McCords Answer on 19th July Thus "On receiving yours I waited on Mr John Stewart who told me that he had wrote to Montreal respecting the bills and that he believed Doctor Simon Fraser would take them up and that you need not be uneasy about them. I have not seen him since." And as Mr McCord makes no mention of this matter in his subsequent Letters I hope it is settled. But I know that you must have been at some other expenses on account of D. McLoughlin for Interest postages etc. I have at this time wrote to Mr Fraser of Ford and am sure he will repay you those articles; but as for your kindness and attention I doubt much if you ever can be repaid in this world! I have had no Letter from McLoughlin this year am told he is gone to join the Army in Portugal as a medical man but I have not yet heard in what station tho' I know it cannot be high.

My former small faculties both mental and corporeal are much impaired particularly those of memory, hearing and sight yet very old as I am in my 79th year. I had much rather walk a League than write a long Letter either on business or politicks else I might have tired you as this time on the latter subject in as far as immediately regards this province I will therefor referr you to the Gassettes and must now only observe that if the unhappy affair of the *little* Belt is not speedily arranged it may cause muckle trouble to both upper and Lower Canada as they will certainly be, the first, attacked and am diffident of our capacity even were we all of us zealous and unanimous in the defences of these provinces and most of the populace of Lower Canada seem insensible of the blessings they enjoy under a British Government and the more responsable and better informed new subjects and who are but few have very little influence over the others and am much afraid that it might not be suitable for Great Britain in the present state of her affairs elsewhere to send us such a reinforcement of land troops as we stand in need of and those now here are rather too few for defending all the passes on so extended a frontier. However as our nearest Neighbours of New York and New England do not seem so ill disposed towards their British kinsmen as are those of some of the Southern states I hope matters may not come to extremities. But if they unfortunately should we must not be dismayed and we may perhaps be able to defend ourselves as we did in 1775 and 1776 when we were much weaker than we even now are. And with the help of God we may be able to drive them out of the Province a second time were they even able to penetrate into some part of it in short we must set a stoutheart to a I have now tired myself and am afraid you also of politicks. Please make offer of my most respectful compliments to Mrs Rowland and to Mrs Kerr and with my Benediction to you and yours

I will ever remain yours much obliged & most obedt Servant MFF
JAMES KERR Esqr
of Blackshils Leith Bank near Edinburgh North Britain
Draft Letter to James Kerr Esqr
14th October 1811

7. MALCOLM FRASER TO JAMES KER

MOUNT MURRAY CANADA 10th Novemr 1812

MY DEAR SIR Yours of the 14th April per the Tyger I had the pleasure of receiving at Quebec on the first of July last and I ought perhaps to have answered it sooner but very old as I am I find myself more able & willing to walk than to write and I chose to see the Ladies in my Neighbourhood here before I wrote to you and which I have done as also their Accounts, with you, about a month ago, and I believe the Accounts to be perfectly correct and that they did right to transmit their approbation of them to you tho' I had not then seen them, and I hope you have received their Letters to you. I also hope that you already have or will soon receive Captain Tom's dispatches which will inform you that he has in my humble opinion had an opportunity of acting with great propriety and of his own free will and accord has embraced & changed the half pay he had from a Capt Blaskowitz with the full pay of a Captain Wall, as I think, of the 49th Regt, who was rendered unfit for service. Capt Nairne is now doing duty

with that Regt and I have no doubt but that the exchange will be aproved of at the War Office as recommed by Sir George Prevost our present Commander in Chief and [illegible]
flatter myself that he may soon have it in his power to purchase a Majority when his rank of [?] Capt may give him a preference and in case of a peace if he chuses to retire his rank will as I imagine go on equally as a Field Officer as if he was on the full pay except perhaps that he may not be allowed to *purchase* higher until he reenters first as Major or untill he has attained the the superior rank by brevet which I believe may happen even on the half pay as Major and tho' there may be new regulations in the Army and I may be mistaken in all this Yet I think Capt Nairne has acted with great honour in not retiring at this time, and the more so, as I think his [?] must have come of himself alone! and I hope we shall soon have an honourable peace when he will have it in his power to remain on the full or to retire on the half pay as he may like best. You see that our Southern bad Neighbours who term themselves *the united States* tho' I believe them to be somewhat disunited in their declaration of this very unjust war on their part nor do I think it very consistent that Mr President Madison and his Negro Drivers the Virginians should become great Champions of Liberty Yet I do not wish your and our Rulers in the old world to be amused with all this For tho' our present friends in New England are wise enough to foresee the destruction of their commerce in this iniquitous war Yet as they must be employed that may be so and reconcile their very tender Consciences to privateering and pillaging when no better can be. You see by the Gazettes that President Madison and his Generals have already lost two of their Armies against one of far inferior in numbers of ourside tho' alas! we have latterly lost the brave General Brock and a few other very valuable lives and our Enemies can at all times afford two to our one and tho we flatter ourselves and indeed now that our brave officers & Soldiers are one of them worth at least two of their Foes yet this may not always continue and I expect that the numerous herds of the Americans may perhaps [illegible] by force of flogging become somewhat [illegible] late worthy Governor and your Cousin to have been a very good man and an excellent Officer Tho' in his then state of health it was for [?] for himself that he chose to retire when he did as if he had remained till now he must have been tormented in mind as he had previously been in body and am happy to know that he has been able and willing at his death to leave such ample testimonies of his affection to you particularly. As to our present Governor Sir George Prevost, he seems to have gained the entire confidence of the People of all Religions and

professions, colours and languages ages and sexes, within these provinces And they seem hitherto unanimous in the support of his Government of them under His Majesty. However I hope the Government at home [?] will send as large a fleet and as soon as it can be done on the coast of North America And that some of the Heroes of Salamanca may be spared [ ] here next Campain, to encourage and support us in the continuance of our present laudable good Dispositions and I imagine that some such [illegible] in these provinces. I suppose you will now think, as I do myself, that I have written enough on War & politicks.

I lately had a conversation with the Miss Nairnes when they convinced me that on certain occurrences such as the present (when Bills cannot be sold but at a loss of twenty one per cent [?] it might be convenient to have some hundred pounds suppose £ 600 or 700 of their money laid out and the interest of it to be at their command in this country whilst they chuse to remain here. But we all agreed that this could not well be done in time of War nor indeed at any time without your full approbation. Now as I trust the present War with our Neighbours may not be of long duration. Will you Sir be pleased to let these Ladies know your opinion of this matter?

Please make offer of my most respectful Compliments to Mrs Ker Mrs Rowland and all your family in which I think I may presume to join those of my Neighbours on t'other side of our Bay tho' I do not know but Miss Christine may herself be writing to you at this time.

I ever am truly and will ever remain My Dear Sir Your most obedient, faithful & humble Servant MALCOLM FFRASER

JAMES KER Esquire

P.S. I have not heard nor do I know that any one in this country has heard any thing of Doctor Macloughlin since last year except that his Uncle Fraser told me he had paid some of his debts about six weeks ago. But I hope the Dr is well.

Letter to JAMES KER Esqr 10th November 1812

Bibliographical Note and Index

Bibliographical Note

If not otherwise indicated the following annotations are based on information derived from these sources: E[dwin]. E[rnest]. Rich (ed.), *The Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society,* (London, 1938-56) 19 vols.; W. Stewart Wallace (ed.), *Documents Relating to the North West Company* (Toronto, 1934); *The Encyclopedia of Canada,* (Toronto, 1935-37) 6 vols.; Howard McKinley Corning (ed.), *Dictionary of Oregon History* (Portland, 1956); and George M. Wrong, *A Canadian Manor and Its Seigneurs* (Toronto, 1908). For "General" James Dickson's filibustering expedition, Grace Lee Nute, "James Dickson: A Filibuster in Minnesota in 1836," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* Sept. 1923, x, pp. 127-140; "Documents Relating to James Dickson's Expedition," *ibid.,* pp. 173-181; "John McLoughlin, Jr., and the Dickson Filibuster," *Minnesota History,* Dec. 1936, XVII, pp. 444-447; Nute (ed.), "The Diary of Martin McLeod," *Minnesota History Bulletin,* Aug.-Nov. 1922, IV, pp. 351-439; and Margaret Arnett McLeod, "Dickson the Liberator," *The Beaver,* Summer 1956, pp. 4-7, proved to be helpful. In questionable cases the spelling of place and proper names, used by these authorities, has been adopted.

Index

ABERNETHY, George: 331-32
Abernethy Island: 330-32
Abraham, Plains of: 55-56, 68
Addiscombe College: as Royal Military College, 46; young David attends, 46, 132-33; described, 225; 133
Agriculture: products of, 243; taught to Indians, 328
Akcoonook, Idaho: 140
Alaska: 136; *see also* Russian settlements
Allaire, Marie: *see* Marie Allaire Fraser
American Fur Company: 166, posts of, 240
American Revolution: 67
Americans: in Northwest, 232, 252; contest for Oregon country, 245
Anatomy: 72, 84, 112-113, 194, 197
Anchorage, Alaska: 135-36
Apostolic Brief: 318-20
Apple trees: 328
Applegate, Jesse: 330
Apprenticeship: of David, 19; of Dr. John, 34-35, 73; of Alexander Fraser, 82; as surgeon, 155; terms of, 154-55; of John Fraser, 237
Arithmetic: 183
Army Medical Board: 84
Arnold, Benedict: 68
Arquet: 208
Aspenwall, N.W: 327
Assiniboia: 168
Astor, John Jacob: 145, 165, 175
Astor expedition: 38
Astoria, Oregon: 166
Athabasca: 120, 227, 327
Atholl, House of: 56
Aylmer, Gov. Matthew Whitworth: 99, 128, 197
BAGPIPERS: at Lovat, 57; at Ft. Vancouver, 60
Balin, Mr. and Mrs: 229
Ball, John: 321
Banker, J.N: 296, 299, 303
Banking: drafts, 74-75, 150, 153, 155, 157, 161, 165-66, 172-73, 176-77, 182, 184-85; loans, 151
Banking credits: in Edinburgh, 37; in Montreal, 38, 154, 156, 183; exchange rate of, 185
Baptism: *see* christening
Barclay, Forbes: 304
Barker, Burt Brown: books by, 16, 42, 47, 50, 71, 107, 114, 129, 320; letter to, 71, 133, 139
Barrands and Lund: 317
Barter: on seignories, 58; 231
Barth, Gunter: 11
Beauchamp, Mme: 193, 200
Beaufort Castle (Scotland): present home of Lord Fraser of Lovat, illus., 54; *also see* Downie Castle
Belair, Amable: 62
Belair, Lady Anne: 65
Bélanger, Augustin: post of, 240
Bélanger, Joseph: 62, 291, 293; *see also* Anne Fraser
Belcher, Sir Edward: 245
Bellanger, Ignace: 277
Bethune, Angus: at fur trade conference, 42-43, 144; 182; identified, 221
Bethune, Anne: 144, 182
Bethune, Rev. John: 221
Black River: *see* Noire River
Blanchet, Archbishop Francis Norbert: sacraments administered, 51
Blanchard, Louis: 208
Bleakley, Mrs: 67

Boats: on Great Lakes, 228; row boat, 228; schooner chartered by Dickson, 236; steamboat used by sheriff, 236; canoe, 240; sloop-of-war, 252
Bohlas, Leah (Hundley): 136
Bond: of executor, 304
Bonner, Geo. T: purchases seigniory of Mt. Murray, 62; bequeaths seigniory, 323
Bookkeeping: 183
Books: 35, 162
Boots: 212
Bordeaux, France: 85
Botany: 72, 84
Boucherville, Ch. (Priest): 26
Bouillanc, François: 287
Boulanger, Joseph: 208
Boulanget: 120
Boulogne, France: 178
Boulogne-sur-Mar, France: 86-87
Boundary, U.S.-Canada: 44
Bourbon Restoration: 86
Bowen, Judge Edward: 69, 71
Bowers, Marjorie: 136
Bowman, F.G: paints portrait, 101, 105
Brebeuf, Jean de: 319-20
Bridges: 278
British American Land Co: 202
British army: 33, 61, 72
British Museum: 25
British North America: boundaries of, 44, 154
Brown, H.J: 332
Brown, John Patrick: 318
Bruce, Robert the: 55
Bryant, Wm. P: 330
Bryce, George: 169
Buck, Mr: 217
Buffalo, New York: 119; Dickson's army leaves, 229-30
Burke, Sir Bernard: 318
Burnati: 193
Burnett, Peter H: 331
Burris, Louise: 139

Cabot, Francis Higginson: 63, 332
Cabot, Maude Bonner (Mrs. F.H.): inherits Mount Murray, 62-63, 322-23
Caldwell, Henry: lease, 26, 277-78; seignior of Lauzon, 59; social customs of, 59; gold coin of, 59; sells seigniory of Rivière-du-Loup, 61
Caldwell, John: 282
"Caledonia" (steamship): 90
California: empire in, 119; trapping in, 134; Dickson plan for, 228; H. B. Co., post in, 249; gold in, 253, 329; first governor, 331
Callisen, Dr. Adolph Carl Peter: 93
Campbell, Major: 67, 145, 162
Campbell, Bernadine: 136
Campbell, Elaine: 136
Campbell, Janet: 136
Cannon, E.J: 301
Canoes: 208, 243
Cap à l'Aigle: on map, 14; location of, 15; 287, 323
Cape Coast Castle: 129
Cape Diamond: 61, 289-91
Cape Disappointment: 247
Cape Fortin: 287
Capel, Lady Jane: *see* Jane McLoughlin
Carlists (Spanish): 195
Castle of Burgos: siege of, 85
Catholic: religion of McLoughlins, 18, 29-30; christenings, 23, 26; religion, 29; missionaries in Oregon, 51-52; Mrs. McLoughlin as, 51-52; church of Oregon City, 52; Marie Louise becomes, 95; death and burial rites, 280, 282, 285; Pope's award to Dr. John, 318-20; Jesuit missionaries, 319; 79, 244
Cattle: 236; as pension, 282; of Dr. John, 328
Cayuse War: 329
Cemeteries: 71, 294
Champlain Society: 86
Champoeg: 135, 329
Chapin, Jane Lewis: editor of letters, 21
Charles x: 113
Chasse, Jean: children of, 24; property described, 24; 284
Chassé, Joseph: 286
Chatham, England: 88
Chemistry: 72, 84, 113, 197

Chippewa Indians: 15
Christening: of Dr. John, 23; of McLoughlin children, 26, 27; of Marie Louise, 95
Christian Advocate and Journal: 327
Chrysologue: 297-98
Church records: 26
Clackamas County: 298, 302; clerk of, 320
Clark, Dr. Dan E: 11
Clerk, Mrs: 194
Clothing: for young John, 211-14; Dickson army uniforms, 229, 231; as pension, 282-285
Coats of Arms: Fraser and McLoughlin, illus., 9; Fraser, 55-56; McLoughlin, 317-18
Coeur d'Alene Indians: 140
Cogswell, William: 315
Colborne, Sir John: 242
Colin, J: 24
Coltman, William Bacheler: 168
Columbia district of H. B. Co: area of, 16, 22-23; Dr. John assigned to, 44; young Alexander at, 165; described, 165; 159, 166, 201, 208
Columbia River: 22, 34, 60, 134, 161; Fort George on, 44, 175; resources of, 245
Combermere, Lord: 87, 179
Commonwealth Relations Office: 133
Comporté: 287-88, 292
Confectioner: 117
Congregational Church: 244, 327
Congress of U.S: 245, 330
Connet, Confectioner: 211
Coulon, Maude: 193
Convention of 1818: 174
Council of the Northern Department: 47, 122
Craig, James Henry: 336-37
Cree Indians: 174
Crime: murder of young John, 122-24; murder of Owen Keveny, 169
Cullen, William: 144
Culloden Moor: battle of, 55-57
Customs: of seigniors, 58-59

DALY, Denys: 26
Daly, Marie: 26
Daly, Patrice: 26
Dame: Lady Mary: 65
Darwin, Erasmus: 146
Davesies de Pontes, Gen. A.T: 305-08
Davier: 217
Davis, Jefferson: 135
Debtor's prison: 74, 84, 340
Déchaussoir: 217
Dechène, Dr: 257
Dechène, Angele: child of, 210
Dechène, Eliza: 100, 230
Dechène, Emilie (St. Cecile): 100, 210, 229-30
Dechène, Joseph: 287; marries Honoree McLoughlin, 312
Deering, Mrs. George: 316-18, 320
de Gaspé, Philippe Aubert: 59
Deguire, Marie-Joseph: 174, 220
Dentistry: instruments for, 217
Desjardins, Abbé Philippe: 95, 210, 226
Detroit: 35, Dickson expedition in, 120; sheriff pursues Dickson, 236
Dickson, "General" James: Red River expedition of, 19, 47, 79, 119-20, 169, 227-31, 236-41; described, 229; drafts not honored, 229; defeated, 229; John Fraser opinion of, 236-39; book by, 239
Diseases: *see* Medicine
"Diseases of Irritation": 146, 166
Dogs: for transportation, 240
Donation Land Law: 330
Douglas, David: 315-16
Douglas, James: Chief Factor of Columbia post, 47, 321; supervises young John, 47-48; 122
Dowie, A: 153
Downie, Scotland: castle of, 55; Field of, 55-56
Drew, C.S: 129
Drugs: 218
Drunkenness: 248
Duberger, Bernard: 279, 283, 286
Duberger, Jean Baptiste: 65
Duberger, Lady Matilde: wife of Wm. Fraser, 65, 322
Duc d'Orleans: 92
Dueling: 196

Dugnay, Sire (priest): 65, 322
Dugros, Mary: 61-62; children of, 62; at Point Fraser, 62; bequest, 62, 292
Duke of York: 87-88, 92, 178
Dumas, Miss D: 200, 202, 241
Duncan, Mr. and Mrs: 217
Dye, Eva Emery: 134, 139

Earl of Essex: as Dr. David's executor, 89; as legatee, 305, 308
Earthquake: 63, 322
East India Company: 46, 133, 226
East Indies: 133, 220
Edinburgh: 74, 77, 157, 320; Hospital, 84; Coll. of Surgeons, 84
Edinburgh, University of: Dr. David at, 18, 37-38, 73, 84, 160, 162; Dr. Fraser at, 72; young David at, 147
Edmonton, England: 133
Education: of Cultivateur John's children, 18, 143; by Quebec Ursulines, 19, 95, 97, 102; cost of Dr. David's medical, 18-19, 35-38, 73-74, 77, 82-84, 158; of Dr. John's children, 78, 178; methods of, 95-96; expenses of, 108, 114, 118, 128, 176; of Eliza, 128, 180; in Fort Vancouver, 132, 329; military, 133; medical, 294; in Montreal, 172; of young John, cost of, 173; of young John in Paris, 197; of Indians, 244
Edwards, Charles H: 306
Eels, Cushing: 244
Engineer Department: 133, 221
England: young David in, 19; education in, 46; Addiscombe College, 46
Eppes, Beverly Rion: 129
Eppes, Elizabeth Athelina Routh: 129
Eppes, Frances Maria Sophia: 129
Eppes, Harriet Alice: 129
Eppes, John St. Hy Randolph: 129
Eppes, Marie Elizabeth: *see* Marie E. McLoughlin
Eppes, Susan Beatrice: 129
Eppes, William Randolph: marries Eliza, 20; death of, 20, 117-18; biography of, 129, 197
Ermatinger, Charles Oakes: 182
Ermatinger, Edward: 182
Ermatinger, Francis: 182
Ermatinger, Frederick William: 182
Ermatinger, Jemima Oakes: 182
Ermatinger, Lawrence: 182
Ermatinger, Lawrence Edward: 182
Essom, Mr: 108-09, 178, 183

Fairbanks, John H: post of, 240
Faribeault, G.B: 65, 322
Farms: at Rivière-du-Loup, 24; illus., 27; life on, 29; gift to Cultivateur John, 31; at Mt. Murray, 57-58; livestock on, 58; tenant farms, 58; of Malcolm Fraser, 70; of H. B. Co., 128, 243; of Dr. John, 129-31, 254-57, 296-97, 311-13; map of Dr. John's, 309; implements, 284; as bequest, 286-92; products of, 328
Farnham, Thomas Jefferson: 245
Febronia, Sister M: 51-52
Filibusters: 119-122
Finance: Halifax currency, 170, 222-23, 225; of business, 237-38; in fur trade, 243
Finlayson, Roderick: 220-21, 235, 248
Fire: signals by, 67-68; at convent, 99
Firearms: of David, 247; at Fort Stikine, 250-51
Fireworks: 113, 200
Fiset, Louis: 131, 300-01
Fiset, Louis Cyprien: 131, 300-01
Fisher, Angeline: 139
Fisher, Geraldine: 139
Fisher, Dr. James: educates Dr. John, 33, 34; as witness, 71; as medical educator, 73; educates Dr. David, 82; affidavit, illus., 269
Fisher, John: 139
Fisher, Sandra: 139
Fishing: 287, 329
Flathead Indians: 327-28
Florence, Sister M: 51-52
Fond du Lac: 174
Food: 120, 211; of Dickson's army, 241; as pension, 281-82, 285
Forsyth, H.S: 71, 188-89
Fort Astoria: 161
Fort Colville: 221
Fort des Esperance: 144

Fort George: Dr. McLoughlin at, 44; weather at, 176
Fort Langley: 221
Fort McLoughlin: young John at, 47
Fort Pic: 144
Fort Simpson: 248
Fort Stikine: in Russian territory, 48; young John at, 48, 122-23, 245-51; Rae at, 122
Fort Vancouver: in Columbia dist., 16; young David at, 19, 47, 122; Dr. John at, 23; marriage at, 38-39; young John at, 47-48; 122-23, 241; bagpipers at, 60; Eloise in, 127; school in, 132; sketch of, 177; work hours at, 245; weather at, 247; Jason Lee at, 327-29; Wyeth in, 329; 177, 182, 190, 203
Fort William: 132, 147, 149-51, 153-56, 159, 161, 166-68, 174; *see also* Kaministikwia
Fort William (on Sauvies Is.): 329
Forts: at Sandy Lake, 240; of Bélanger, 240; of Fairbanks, 240
France: July Revolution, 19; February Revolution of 1848, 22, 50; Dr. David in, 43, 46; young David in, 46; flight of king, 50; early Fraser in, 56; Bourbon Restoration, 86; Politics of, 89-92, 94, 113; 192
Fraser: family relationships, 15-22; coat of arms, illus., 9
Fraser, Alexander (Col. Malcolm's son): family relationships, 15, 18; refuses educational help, 18; as seignior, 20, 67; in fur trade, 29,61; influence on Dr. John, 31, 33; legacy to, 31, 291; home news report from, 39; family quarrels, 41-43; pays brother's rent, 42, 170; biography of, 61; death of, 61, 77; children of, 61; favors David's education, 73; quarrel with Dr. Simon, 73-74, 77-78, 97, 159; aid to Dr. David, 82; loan to Eliza, 131; letters from, 150, 161-63; leave N.W. Co., 153; improves estate, 160; rebuke, 162; books, 162; offers to buy land, 167; lawsuit against, 174; in Quebec, 213; writes brother through Sister St. Henry, 213; refers David Michaud to Dr. Simon, 217; letter, illus., 261; 29, 33, 97, 145, 148, 150, 154-56, 161, 165, 171, 175, 209
Fraser, Alexander (son of Alexander): 41, 71, 82, 119; letter to, 146; illness of, 147; letter requested, 151; character of, 151, 165-67; apprenticed to N.W. Co., 162, 165-67; paralysis of, 175; supervision of young John, 220; relations with Dr. Simon, 242; as legatee, 290; as attorney, 300-01
Fraser, Andrew: 290-91
Fraser, Angélique: *see* Angélique McLoughlin
Fraser, Angélique Meadows: marries Alexander, 61; children of, 61
Fraser, Anna (daughter of Col. Malcolm): marries twice, 62; bequests, 31, 71, 289, 291
Fraser, Anne Smith: 61, 291
Fraser, Donald: father of Col. Malcolm, 57; dies at Culloden, 57
Fraser, Elizabeth: marries cousin, 20, 78, 242, 251; letter from, 77, 103; letter to, 103
Fraser, John (son of Dr. Simon): inherits family letters, 20; marries cousin, 20, 77, 242, 251; as agent of Dr. John, 42; as legatee, 70; writes to young John, 112; signs note, 115; advises young John, 121; learns of murder, 123; letters to, 177, 192, 196, 198-99, 203-06, 210-13, 217-18, 220, 226-31, 239, 241, 244, 246-47, 249, 251-53; letters from, 184, 201-02, 235, 238; death of mother, 196; Dr. John commends, 203-04; writes about young John, 235-38; opinion of Dickson, 236-39; apprenticeship of, 237; marriage, 241; as legatee, 295; 31, 47, 120, 189
Fraser, John Malcolm (son of Col. Malcolm): biography of, 62; seignior of Mt. Murray, 62, 322; declines farm supervision, 129-31; as agent, 170, 253-57; asked to take care of young John, 185; letter to, 255-56; as legatee, 287-89, 292; 117, 209, 215, 219

Fraser, Joseph: Dr. John's uncle, 42; rental arrears of, 42; biography of, 61; marries Anne Smith, 61; death of, 61; gift of house, 167-68, 290

Fraser, Julienne (daughter of Col. Malcolm): bequests, 31, 71, 289-92; marries Langan, 62; letter to, 163; as widow, 165; house of, 167; 61, 158, 174

Fraser, Col. Malcolm: manor house of, 15, 20, 63, 322; family relationships, 15; genealogy of, 17, 136, 139; family of, 20, 60-62; will of, 16, 30-31, 61-63, 70-71, 152, 286-94; as Protestant, 18, 29-30, 60; purchases seigniory of Rivière-du-Loup, 20; witnesses deed, 24; as landowner, 24; witnesses lease, 26, 277-78; religion of, 29; death of, 30, 61, 71; disinherits daughter, 30; gives farm to John and Angélique, 31, 313; assists Dr. David's education, 37, 73, 77, 83, 152; early life of, 57; diary of, 57; joins Fraser Highlanders, 57; battles of Quebec, 57, 163; receives seigniory, 57; finances of, 58, 83; builds mills, 60; influences Dr. John, 60; Indian wives, 60; marries Marie Allaire, 60; children of, 60-62; second marriage of, 61-62; fire signals of, 67; military activity of, 67-69; association with Nairnes, 68-70; opposes Marie Louise McLoughlin, 95; letter to, 143; letter from, 152, 157; will of, 152; blames Alexander, 157-58; repaid by Dr. David, 225; treatment of daughter, 226; letter, illus., 260; will, illus., 273; witnesses will, 279; payment to, 284; correspondence with James Ker, 335-46; old age of, 343; 25, 51, 59, 67, 109, 145, 152, 154, 158, 163

Fraser, Malcolm (grandson of Col. Malcolm): 71, 290-91

Fraser, Marie Allaire: grandmother of Dr. John, 39; at Rivière-du-Loup, 39-40, 61; family quarrel, 43; marries Col. Malcolm, 60-61; children of, 60-62; receives bequest, 61-62, 290; property of, 61-62; requests aid for David Michaud, 97

Fraser, Mary (daughter of Col Malcolm): *see* Thomas J. Reeve

Fraser, Mary (daughter of Dr. Simon): illness, death of, 198-99, 203

Fraser, Pauline Michaud; marries Alexander, 61; children of, 61

Fraser, Peter: 280

Fraser, Dr. Simon: family relationship, 15, 18; financing education of Dr. David, 18, 37, 82, 337, 339, 343; influence on Dr. John, 31, 33; apprenticing of Dr. John, 34; medical practice of, 35, 147; relations with brother, 42, 73-74, 77-78, 97, 156-57, 159, 165, 242; as Dr. John's agent, 44-45; death of, 49, 61, 79, 252; assists education of McLoughlin children, 61, 78; as legatee, 70; birth, 72; education and military service, 72, 73; character traits of, 72; aids brothers, 73-74, 77-78; portrait of, 75; as seignior of Clause, 79; will of, 79, 294; religion of, 79; refuses David Michaud, 97, 217; supervises young John, 107-110, 115-19; rejects young John, 117-19; aging, 117, 157, 192; supervises David, 132, 146; letters to, 143-45, 147, 149-55, 157-59, 163, 166-69, 171-79, 181, 185-89, 194, 204, 207, 210-13, 215, 222, 224, 232, 235, 243, 244; request for letter, 151-52; sends draft to Dr. David, 155; requests medical news, 157; repaid for Dr. David's medical costs, 157-58; offended, 159-60; Dr. John apologizes to, 163-64; as executor, 172; letters from, 173, 182, 184, 188, 207, 209, 215-16, 218; cares for young John, 174; lawsuit, 174; re costs of education, 181-82; advises young John, 188; health of, 201; sends young John to Fort Vancouver, 208; opinion of young John, 209, 215-16, 218-20; letter, illus., 262; will, illus., 274; as legatee, 289-93; as executor, 293; 29, 31, 33, 39, 41, 162

Fraser, Simon (ancestor): career of, 56

Fraser, Col. Simon: at battle of Quebec, 57

Fraser, Gen. Simon: organizes Fraser Highlanders, 55-57; Lovat estates returned to, 56

Fraser, William (son of Col. Malcolm): seignior of Mount Murray, 62; as legatee, 70, 286-92; house built by, 63, 322-23

Fraser, William (son of Alexander): inherits family letters, 20-21; seignior of Rivière-du-Loup, 21; letter from Dr. John, 78; 31, 255-56

Fraser clan: history of, 55-56; in Scotland, 55-56; origin of name, 55; coat of arms, 55-56; in "Field of Downie," 55-56; early Fraser in France, 56

Fraser Highlanders: 18, 55, 57, 60

Fraser of Ford: aids Dr. David, 74, 77, 83, 337-43; is repaid, 157

Fraser of Lovat, Lord: history of, 55-57; in France, 56

Fraser of Reeling, Charles Ian: 55

Fraser of St. Mark, John: letters to, 253-54, 257; buys Dr. John's farms, 130-31, 254-57, 296-99; debt to Eliza, 300

Fraserville: 288, 297, 313

French Prairie: 329

Fur trade: wages in, 34; competition in, 42-43; refuge for animals, 58; illicit trade in, 169; in Columbia district, 231-32; Morrison in, 240; new companies, 243; 82, 147, 151, 155, 166; *see also* Hudson's Bay Co., North West Co.

Furniture: 284, 287, 292

GAGNON, Gabriel: farmer of St. Anne de la Pocatiere, 24; marries, 24; books, 162; 200

George I: 56

George III: 67, 178

Gerrard, Gillespie, Moffat, and Co: 172

Gervais: *see* Simon Talbot

Gianelli, Shirley: 139

Gill, Peter M: 196, 219

Giroux, Pierre: 65

Glen, Mr: teacher, 107, 171, 219

Glengarry: 186

Gold: dust, 135, 253; discovery in Oregon and Calif., 253, 329; watch, 317

Gold Coast: 129

Graham, Sir Bellingham: 87

Graham, Caroline: 87

Granada: battle of, 85

Grand Portage: 144, discribed, 151

Grant, Cuthbert: 229

Grant, Malcolm: 71, 279, 291

"Gratiot" (steamboat): 120, 236

Gray, J.A: 335

Grayhurst and Harvey: 317

Great Britain: controls Oregon, 245; loyalty to, 293

Great Lakes: 119, 228-29

Greville, Algernon: 87, 178

Greville, Mrs. Algernon: 87, 92, 178

HALIFAX: currency, 170, 222-23, 225, 233

Halket, John: 87, 178

Hallowell, James: 162, 183

Hallowell, William: 183

Hanover: troops, 55; House of, 56; George I, of, 56

Harmon, Daniel W: described, 327; letter to, 327-29

Harvard, Idaho: 139

Harvey, Anita, 136

Harvey, Daniel: marries Eloisa, 127; death of, 127; as legatee, 131, 302-03; as executor, 303-04, 316; bond for, 304; owns watch, 317

Harvey, Eleanore (Hundley): 136

Harvey, John McL: Sr. and Jr., 317

Harvey, Karen: 136

Haskel, Rev. Daniel: 327

Hayes River: 44

Hedge & Lyman's: 218

Heroux, Urbain: 250

Hill, Charles P: 140

Himes, George H: 135

Hobbs, Blanche M: 135-36, 139

Hoffman, Dr. George: 11

Hollbrook, Amory: 304

Holm, Mme: 194

Honorable Company: *see* Hudson's Bay Company

Horticultural Soc. of Lond: 315
Hôtel Dieu: 95
Hudson's Bay Co: Columbia district, 16, 22-23; Dr. John as Chief Factor, 16; reports to, 16; at Fort Vancouver, 16; employees of, 16; posts of, 16, 239; young David apprenticed to, 19; ousts Dr. John, 22, 49; committee of, 37, 178; struggle with competitor, 40-42, 168-69; Dr. John's first assignment with, 43; merger with N.W. Co., 43, 86; York Factory meeting, 44; on Hayes River, 44; at Fort George, 44; agent of, 45; employs young John and McLeod, 47, 228-29; Dr. John's account with, 47; re young John's murder, 49; mills of, 48-49; post in San Francisco, 49-50, 249; Red River settlement, 119, 228-29; Simpson protects interests of, 121; young John as employee, 122-24, 224; post in Russian settlements, 122-24; fails to back Simpson, 124; Oregon employees, 127; David resigns from, 134; post at Wyndel, 139; Indian disturbances, 168; Sault St. Marie as post of, 221; McDonald in service of, 221; children of officials, 227-28; wages in, 234; relations with Russians, 243; post at Fort Stikine, 248-51; 60, 87, 90-91, 133, 173, 175, 181-82
Hudson's Bay Record Society, Pubns. of: 16, 48, 86
Hughes, Henry Clayton: 308
Hundley, Annie (Sullivan): 136
Hundley, Leah Bohlas: 136
Hunt, Patrick: 136
Huot, Rev: 162
Huot, Philippe: 298-301
Huron Island: 236, 238
Huron Indians: 319

ICE BUSINESS: 329
Idaho: 135-40, 317
India: 68, 133, 221, 224
Indians: women, 38, 60-61, 174, 221; children, 61; of Red River, 119-122; empire, 32; Chief Grizzly, 136, 140; atrocity, 145, 319; disease, 146; disturbances by, 168; trader, 182; tribes at Sault St. Marie, 221; Dickson as liberator of, 228-29, 236; in Dickson's army, 237; as guides, 240-41, 329; missionaries to, 244; liquor use, 250, 328; as mine workers, 253; taught by missionaries, 328; *see also,* Chippewa, Kutenai, Hurons, Iroquois, Coeur d'Alene, Métis, Flathead, Cayuse, Cree
Interest: 300
Inverness, Scotland: 54-55
Ireland: 23
Iroquois: 250, 319
Irvine, Mrs. Darcy: 306-08
"Isaac Todd" (ship): 161
Islette, seigniory of: 290

JACOBITES: 56
Jesuit missionaries: 319-20
Johnson, Miss A.M: 316
Johnson, Lady Maria: 65
Jones, Mr: teacher, 29, 109-10, 143, 188, 194
Jordan, Charles: 293
July Revolution in France: 19, 89, 113, 194, 199-200

KAMINISTIKWIA: post of N.W. Co., 34; Dr. John at, 38-39; David born at, 132; sketch of, 144; described, 164; Dr. John winters at, 166-67; 41, 107, 145, 147
Kaministikwia River: 34, 144, 151
Kamouraska: map, 14; location of, 16; christenings at, 23, 26, 95; seigniory of, 59; customs at, 59; fire signals from, 67-68; parish of, 279, 283
Keith, James: 110, 112, 117, 188, 219
Kelso, monks of: gift of land to, 55
Kentucky: 135
Ker, James: M. Fraser writes to, 69; aids Dr. David, 74, 162, 336-38, 343; exonerates Dr. David, 83-84; biography of, 157; correspondence with Malcolm Fraser, 335-46
Kettle Portage: post of N.W. Co., 166
King, Amelia: 139
Kingston, Canada: 238

Knight of St. Gregory the Great: 318
Kutenai Indians: 136, 140

LABOR: on roads, 58; at manor house, 59
Lac la Pluie: post of N.W. Co., 34, 38; Dr. John at, 43, 166; on Canada-U.S. Boundary, 44; Eliza birthplace, 128; described, 166; weather, 173; 107, 174
Lachine, Canada: 97, 109, 121, 173, 181, 188, 193, 208, 220
"Lady Clerk" (steamship): 189
Lake Francis Gerard, Lord and Lady: 87-88, 178
Lake Erie: 120, 228
Lake Huron: 120, 228
Lake Itasca: 240
Lake of the Woods: 151, 166, 175
Lake Ontario: 69
Lake St. Louis: 181
Lake Superior: 120, 143, 151, 166, 168, 174; Dickson's army crosses, 230; storm on, 240
Lake Temiscouata: 175
Lake Winnipeg: 122, 133, 175, 240
Lalement, Gabriel: 319-20
Lamarque, Gen. Maximilien: 194-95
Lamb, Dr. W. Kaye: 11, 123
Lambruschini, Cardinal: 319
Land: for church, 24, 278; classes of owners, 25; for monks of Kelso, 55; Lovat estates, 55-57; land rents, 58-59; sales of, 59; of McLoughlins, 127-31; price of, 167; as dowry, 175; sales to emigrants, 202; in Rivière-du-Loup, 217, 296-97, 311-13; possession of, in Oregon, 252; lease of, 277-78; for roads, 278; as bequest, 280, 286-92; deed of gift, 283; fertility of, 328; claimed by Dr. John, 330-33; for University, 330; *see also* Farms
Langan, Rev: 307
Langan, Julienne: *see* Julienne Fraser
Langan, Patrick: wife, 62, 67; 289-92; *see also* Julienne Fraser
La Pointe: 120, 210, 230, 238; Dickson's army reaches, 236
L' Assomption: 167
Latah, Washington: 139
Lauzon: seigniory of, 59, 277
Lavoisier, Antoine Laurent: 144
Law: of apprenticeship, 34; of estates, 40; Malcolm Fraser, knowledge of, 70-71; collecting bills, 117; enforcement of, 120; power of attorney, 130, 158, 254, 298-99; attorneys, 131; Canadian courts, 168; lawsuit, 174; attorney as debt collector, 215; trial in Russian territory, 251; land lease, 277-78; wills, 279-83, 286-95, 304-08; deed of gift, 283-286; deed of loan, 301; executor's bond, 304; contested will, 306-08; of land claims, 330-33
Lebel, Jean: 23
Lee, Jason: letter about, 327-29
Legion of Honor: 81
Lehue: 287
Leith, Scotland: 74, 157
Le Page, Leander: 193
Leslie, Mr: 219
Leslie, Mrs: teacher, 43, 172
Library of Congress: 317
Liquor: of seigniors, 58; wine, 70; young John's drunkenness, 125; at Fort Stikine, 248, 250-51; among Indians, 250, 328; as pension, 282-285
Livestock: on farms, 58; as bequest, 70; cattle stolen, 120; 284
London, Eng: Dr. John in, 42-43; fur trade conference in, 42-43, 86; schools, 46; Dr. David in, 94; silversmiths of, 320; 161, 196
Louis Philippe, King of France: young John meets, 19, 193; flight of, 50; politics of, 89, 92; 113
Lovat, Scotland: Lord of, 55-56; Frasers at, 55-57; estates, 55-57; Dowager Countess of, 56
Lowe, David: 303-04
Lowe, Thomas: 303-04
Lucier, Etienne: 135
Lyon, France: 113

MCARTHUR, Mrs. Nellie Pipes: 11
McBean, Charles: 228
McBean, Charles, Jr: with Dickson's army, 119, 228, 240-41

McCord, John: 70, 84, 152, 293, 343
McCord, Thomas: 293
McDonald, Rev: 162
McDonald, Archibald: 221, 225
McDonel, Alexander: 166
McGalleny, Simon: 329
McGill, Peter & Co: 237
McGill University: 19, 115, 206, 209
McGillivray, William: 37; director of N.W. Co., 34, 36, 144; as partner, 149; offres Dr. John employment, 149-50
McGrigor, Sir James: 88-89, 178
McKay, Alexander: 38, 145
McKay, J: 320
McKay, Marguerite Wadin: *see* Marguerite McLoughlin
McKay, Thomas: 321, sketch of, 329
McKay, William: 145, 148, 155
McKenzie, Alexander, "Emperor": 120, 147, 166-67; sketch of, 159; recruits for Dickson, 227
McKenzie, Donald: 166
McKenzie, Henry: 144, 147, 151, 154, 171-72; 181-82, 189, 192, 217
McKenzie, James: 173
McKenzie, John G: 120; recruits for Dickson, 103
McKenzie, Kenneth: 160-61
McKenzie, Roderick: 144; as partner of McTavish, Frobisher and Co., 147; as seignior of Terrebonne, 147; advises Dr. John, 148; 144, 151, 161, 173, 203, 205
McKenzie, Mrs. Roderick: 241
McLoughlin, Angélique Fraser: mother of Dr. John, 16, 60; sketch of, 16, 60; religion of, 18; marries, 24, 30; children of, 26; becomes Catholic, 30; disinherited, 30-31; receives farm, 31-32; visits Mt. Murray, 32; assisted by Dr. John, 39; at Rivière-du-Loup, 39-40, 165, 168; death of, 49, 60; as legatee of Dr. Simon Fraser, 79, 295; children gifted, 81; aged, 97-98; described, 98; health of, 210, 227; young John with, 224, 226; mentioned in Malcolm Fraser will, 290; as legatee, 312
McLoughlin, Anne: death of, 24; 281-82
McLoughlin, Bernadean: 139
McLoughlin, Clara: 139
McLoughlin, Cornelius: 24, 40, 280-81
McLoughlin, Dr. David: family relationships, 15, 18; education expenses of, 18-19, 35-38, 83, 146-47, 153; education of, 18-19, 35-38, 73, 82, 84; supervises young John, 19, 192, 203, 216, 220, 222; birth of, 26; in France, 43; young John with, 46, 111-16, 118; Dr. John visits, 47; medical and social career, 50, 81, 86-94, 158-59; in Paris, 50, 89; as legatee, 71, 312; Dr. Fraser represents, 72; causes rift in family, 73-74, 77-78; debts of, 77, 147, 155-56, 339-42; Return of Services, 81, 85, 88, 178, illus., 275, 294; helped by Dr. Fraser, 82-84; education aid to, 83; in British military service, 84-85; repayment to Alexander Fraser, 86; appearance of, 86; decisive medical case, 86, 178; dispute with McGrigor, 88, 178; marries, 88; social position in France, 89; letters from, 90-91, 146-47; granted Legion of Honor, 92; residence of, 93; books by, 93; leaves France, 94; in London, 94; death of wife, 94; income of, 115, 203; supervises young David, 132; finances of, 150, 156-57, 160, 162; in Canada, 157; in Portugal, 162; illness of, 174; letter to, 182; delay of medical certificates, 204-05; requests Spanish commission for nephew, 218; document, illus., 275-76; will of, 302-08; as legatee of Gen. Davesies, 305-08; Ker befriends, 336-38, 343; 22, 44, 158, 209
McLoughlin, David (son of Dr. John): in England, 19; in Fort Vancouver, 19, 47-48; 246-47, 252-53; apprenticeship of, 19; goes to Oregon, 44, 243; in Paris, 46, 221-223, 233, 329; education, 46, 132-33, 140; leaves Paris, 47-48; works for H. B. Co., 48, 122-23; leaves H. B. Co., 50; leaves Oregon City, 50; letter re John's murder, 123; bequest from father,

131, 302-03; birth of, 132; at Addiscombe College, 132-33, 220; as cadet, 133; in England, 133; return to Canada, 133; at Fort Vancouver, 134; on trapping exped., 134; resigns from H. B. Co., 134; love affair, 134-35; marries, 135; finances of, 135; as gold miner, 135; in Idaho, 135; family and descendants, 136-37; portrait of, 137; lays out townsite, 140; character traits, 140; letters from, 243, 246, 247, 252-53; mines gold, 263; letter, illus., 267; as legatee of Malcolm Fraser, 291; as legatee of Dr. David, 305-06; death of, 317

McLoughlin, Eliza: *see* Marie Elisabeth McLoughlin

McLoughlin, Eliza (daughter of David): 139

McLoughlin, Eloisa: goes to Oregon, 44, 329; at convent, 96-97; biography of, 127; bequest from father, 131, 302-03; in California, 249; 15, 43, 122; *see also* Daniel Harvey, Wm. Rae

McLoughlin, Herbert: 139

McLoughlin, Honoree: sketch of, 24, 26; masses for, 282; married Jos. Dechène, 312; as legatee, 312; 257

McLoughlin, Lady Jane Capel: marries Dr. David, 89, 92; death of, 50

McLoughlin, John (grandfather of Dr. John): sketch of, 23; farms of, at Rivière-du-Loup, 24; land for church, 24; children of, 24; lacks education, 26; farm of, 40; will of, 40, 168; family relationships, 153, 155, 159; deed, illus., 272; witnesses lease, 277-78; pension for, 281; gift of land, 283-86; death and estate of, 312-13

McLoughlin, Cultivateur John: father of Dr. John, 15; as Catholic, 18; children's education, 18, 22-23; genealogy of, 24; as landowner, 24; biography of, 25; character of, 25-26; letter of, 25; children of, 26; education of, 26; religion of, 29; marries Angèlique Fraser, 30; death of, 30, 39-40, 60; farms, gift of, 31, 283-86; visits Mount Murray, 32; estate of, 40, 312-13; unable to assist Dr. David, 73, 150-51; letter from, 143, 279; letter, illus., 259; bequest to, 280; mentioned in Malcolm Fraser will, 290

McLoughlin, Dr. John: portrait, frontis.; description of portraits, 16, 315; coat of arms, 9, 317-18; family of, 15, 16, 20; as Chief Factor in Columbia dist., 16, 22-23; salary of, 19; gifts to Eliza, 20; farms of, 20, 42, 254-57; ousted as Chief Factor, 22, 125; birth of, 23, 26; christening of, 23; godparents, 23; given names, 23; genealogy of, 24; childhood influences, 29, 32, 60; as employee of N.W. Co., 29, 34, 39-40, 42-43, 159; visits Mount Murray, 31-32; as a boy, 31; medical influence on, 31; education of, 33; sent to Kaministikwia, 34; medical practice, 34-35, 145-46; salary of, 34, 36, 73, 82, 147-48, 150, 155; apprenticeship, 34-36, 149-50, 153, 155; character traits, 34, 36-37, 42, 50; books read by, 35; assists Dr. David's education, 35-38, 147, 155-56, 159-61; marries Marguerite McKay, 38, 51, 145; children of, 38, 39, 43; as partner in N.W. Co., 39-40; illness, 41, 43, 328; assists mother, 39-40; in Rivière-du-Loup, 41; family opinion of, 41; John Fraser as agent, 42; in London, 42-43, 171; assists family, 43; in France, 43, 122, 138; health of, 43, 169; draws will, 43; joins H.B. Co., 43; assigned to Columbia district, 44; advice to young John, 46; affection for brother, 46; goes to Paris, 47; finances of, 47, 108, 114, 129, 201, 224-25, 235, 253-57; informed of son's murder, 48; letters re John's murder, 48-49; leaves H.B. Co., 49, 125; buys mills, 49; home in Oregon City, 48-49; family grief of, 49-50; as local merchant, 50; as legatee, 71; Dr. Fraser represents, 72; regrets Fraser rift, 73-74, 156-57, 164; unable to supervise his children, 78; assists Dr. David, 82-83; visits Dr. David, 86; furnishes teaching aids, 95-96; commissions sister's por-

McLoughlin, Dr. John (contin.): trait, 100; accounts of, 107, 111-12; described as rich, 114; problems with son John, 107-12, 114, 117-18, 122-25, 175, 178, 190-91; criticism of Simpson, 123-25; estate of, 130-31; promotes schools, 132; requests books, 144, 146, 156-57; letters from, 143, 145, 147, 149-51, 153-55, 158-59, 163, 166-69, 171-77, 182, 185, 190, 198, 203, 220, 222, 224, 231-32, 235, 242, 244, 246, 249, 251, 253-57, 327, 330; dissatisfied, 147-50; concern for Dr. David, 149; conflict with N.W. Co., 154-55; as surgeon, 155; wants farm life, 165; family at Rivière-du-Loup, 165; at court, 169; family disagreements, 170-71; provides for mother, 172; letters to, 182-84, 202, 235; advises John Fraser, 185-86; remoteness of, 216; writes about sons, 222, 232-35; business philosophy of, 231; supervises H.B. Co. farms, 243; in Honolulu, 247; docs., illus., 266, 268, 270; permit to practice, 279; as legatee of Malcolm, 291; Eliza as attorney for, 296; farms described, 296-97, 311-13; will of, 302-04; map of farms, 309; medal of, 315; receives Douglas, 315; ring of, 316; watch of, 317; receives Apostolic brief, 318-20; silver of, 320-21; dining table of, 321; letter re Jason Lee, 327-29; letter re Oreg. land claim, 330-33; files for Amer. citizenship, 330-31; 22, 108, 147, 158, 166, 182, 189

McLoughlin, John (son of Dr. John): apprenticeship of, 19; at Fort Vancouver, 19, 47-48; studies medicine in Paris, 19, 46, 112-16, 203-05, 213-14, 329; meets French king, 19; return to Canada, 19, 46, 114-15; habits of, 19; with filibustering expedition, 19, 47, 119, 227-31, 236-41; gay life in Montreal, 47, 97-98; murder of, 37, 48, 79, 122-24, 248-51; birth of, 38, 107; education of, 43, 45-46, 107-16, 172, 178; character traits, 45-46, 48, 109-110, 124, 183, 219-20; employed by H.B. Co., 47-49, 122-24, 224; as surgeon, 47, 121-22; at Fort Stikine, 48, 122-24, 245-51; as family problem, 78-79, 151, 186; debts of, 79, 204, 207-208, 211, 215-16; writes re Dr. David, 89; writes re David Michaud, 97-98, 217; *enfant terrible,* 107; beats younger boy, 109, 186; finances of, 107-09, 111-12, 114-18, 121-24, 205-06, 209-210, 213, 215-18, 226, 232; desire to go to Fort Vancouver, 110; advised by father, 110-11, 185-86; leaves for Paris, 111-12; diligence of, 112-13, 199; offends Dr. David, 114-15; returns to Canada, 114-15; extravagance of, 114-18; illness, 118, 218; to Fort Vancouver, 122, 208; father's anxiety for, 175; needs clothing, 187, 211-13; letters from, 187, 189, 191-92, 194, 196-97, 199, 204-07, 210-13, 217-18, 226, 228, 230, 239, 241, 244; letters to, 188, 190, 201, 207, 218, 238; asks John Fraser to write, 191; social interests of, 192-94, 196; regrets past actions, 197-99; studies in Paris, 197; behavior of, 209; Dr. Simon's opinion of, 209, 215-16, 218-20; leaves Montreal, 210, 227; in Quebec, 211-14; at Eppes home, 215; Uncle applies for Spanish commission, 218; father's opinions on, 221-26, 232-35; orders uniform, 231; family reaction to Dickson venture, 238-39; route of, with Dickson, 240; hired by Simpson, 241; letter, illus., 264; 15, 22, 132, 182, 204

McLoughlin, John (son of David): 139-40

McLoughlin, Joseph: 15, 170; at Champoeg, 329

McLoughlin, Julienne: birth of, 26; child of, 210; marries Michaud, 312; as legatee, 312

McLoughlin, Louisia: 136

McLoughlin, Marguerite Wadin McKay (second wife of Dr. John): children of, 38-39; religion of, 51-52; death

of, 51-52; marries, 145; father of, 220; as legatee, 302-03; 15, 38-39, 42, 107, 174
McLoughlin, Marie Anne: 285
McLoughlin, Marie Elisabeth (Eliza): education of, 19, 44-45, 96-97, 108, 128, 180, 184; marries Eppes, 20, 128-29; children, 20, 129; gifts from father, 20, 129, 131; birth of, 26, 128; health of, 44, 128, 180, 189; in Quebec, 78, 329; pension of, 129, 131; land dealings of, 130-31, 254-56, 296-99, 313; loan from Alexander Fraser, 131; young John at Eppes home, 215-16; power of attorney for, 298; loan to, 301; 15, 132, 213, 230; *see also* Eppes
McLoughlin, Marie Louise (Sister St. Henry): as Mother Superior, 16, 22; birth of, 26, 95; takes veil, 29, 32, 96; lives with Col. Malcolm Fraser, 29; as a child, 32, 95; visits Mount Murray, 32; education, 32; heals family breach, 32; becomes Catholic, 29, 32, 95; children study under, 19, 44, 78; aware of family affairs, 45, 96-98, 179-80; cares for family land, 81; character traits, 91, 94, 96; as educator, 95-96; becomes Sister St. Henry, 96; becomes Mother Superior, 96; writes to young John, 97; recognition of services of, 99-100, 105; educates young relatives, 100, 230; death of, 50, 100; portrait of, 101; portrait described, 105; opposes young John, 117, 210; advises of Dickson exped., 120, 227-28; Eliza with, 128, 180; letters from, 179, 188, 210, 213, 227, 229; young relatives of, 189; letter, illus., 265; no bequest to, 312; 102-03, 127, 170, 175, 181, 184
McLoughlin, Mary Short (grandmother of Dr. John): death of, 23, 39; children of, 24; finances of, 167; will, illus., 271; will of, 279-83
McLoughlin, Nancy: 40
McLoughlin, Sarah: 136
McLoughlin, William: 139
McLoughlin family: relationships, 15-22; 42-43, 153, 155-57, 159; coat of arms, illus., p. 9
McLoughlin House, Oregon City: 316, 321
McLoughlin Memorial Association: 11; family letters and documents, 20, 25; 39, 41, 135-37, 277, 279
McLeod, Alexander Roderick: with H.B. Co., 47, 119, 121, 228; mourning ring for, 316
McLeod, John: 220
McLeod, Margaret Arnett: 119
McLeod, Martin: 119
McNett, Mrs. Aileen: 11
McNeil, Brig. Gen. John, Jr: 236
McNicoll, Magdalen: 65, 322, 335, 337, 339, 342
McTavish, Donald: 161
McTavish, Simon: 144, 161; sells seigniory of Terrebonne, 147; advises Dr. John, 155; promises Dr. John, 160
McTavish & Co: 338
McTavish, Frobisher, and Co: 147, 155
McTavish, McGillivrays, and Co: 43, 144, 147, 173, 182

MACLAREN, Neil: 293
Macnicol, Peter: 293
Mails: time factor in, 77, 202; delay in, 118, 166, 174, 177, 198; transcontinental, 225
Malbaie: 15, 20, 24, 29, 32, 67; as resort, 323
Malbaie River: seigniories at, 57; 287-88
Malta: 129
Manor houses: at Mount Murray, 15, 63, 322-23; at Rivière-du-Loup, 20, 75; labor at, 59; ministrations of, 59; at Point Fraser, 60; corner stone of, 65, 322; as bequest, 292
Marquis, François: 277
Martin, Wm. John: 305, 308
Mascouche, Canada: 79
Masson, Miss: 228
Masson, Dr. Joseph: 295
Mathison, Paul: 136

Mathison: Pauline: 136
Matthieu, F. Xavier: 135, 137, 304
Mayhew, Sydney: 304-05
Meadows, Angélique: *see* Angélique M. Fraser
Medal: 315
Medicine: frontier practice, 35; education in, 33, 35, 72, 82, 84, 112-16, 294; permit to practice, 33-34, 279; salary for practice of, 34-35; epidemic, 68; military practice of, 85; childbirth, 87, 92, 178; cholera, 92, 201; skull fracture, 92; books on, by Dr. David, 93; examinations in, 116; young John as surgeon, 121-22; young David in, 132, 147; King's evil, 145-46; scrofula, 146, 166; small pox, 175; young John studies, 209; David Michaud studies, 213-14; value of diploma, 216; drugs used, 218; 157-58
Mercer, Jerrydean: 139
Merger: of N.W. Co. with H.B. Co., 43
Methodist: mission, 244, 327, 331
Métis: 229
Metropolitan Museum, N.Y: 320
Mexico: 23
Michaud, Angélique: 100, 230
Michaud, David: education of, 97; in Paris, 113; studies medicine, 213, 217; uncle applies for Spanish commission, 218; rents lands, 255-56; owns land, 297; as legatee, 305-06; 119
Michaud, Etienne: 313
Michaud, Jean: 312
Michaud, Josephine (St. Borgia): 100, 210, 227, 230
Michaud, Pauline: 61; *see* Pauline Fraser
Michaud, Julie: *see* Julienne McLoughlin
Midwifery: 84
Military: Seven Oaks, battle of, 40, 168; the Stuarts, 56-57; battle of Culloden, 55-57; Hanoverian troops, 55; Plains of Abraham, 56, 163; Fraser Highlanders, 18, 55, 57; Seven Years' War, 57; battles of Quebec, 57, 163; American Revolution, 67-68; War of 1812, 69, 344-45; militia, 69, 163, 168; British army, 72; Napoleonic War, 85, 87; medicine and surgery, 85; Spanish army, 119; "General" Dickson expedition, 119-22, 227-31, 239, 241; Eppes career, 129; pension, 129; education, 133; 158; French troops, 163; American outposts, 174; U.S. protection in Oregon, 245; militia, 286; Napoleonic Wars, 336; Newfoundland Fencibles, 338, 341; Cavalry service, 340; affairs of Capt. Nairne, 335-45
Militia of St. Paul's Bay: 286
Mills: lumber and grain, 59-60, 252, 288, 329; lease of, 278
Mines: 135
Minnesota: 159
Missionaries: Catholic, in Oregon, 51-52; Protestant, in Oregon, 244; Jesuits, 319; Methodist, 327, 331
Mississippi River: 240
"Modeste" (ship): 252
Moffatt, Hon. George: letter to, 209; holds young John's funds, 218-20, 223, 232, 234; 118, 172, 215-16, 219
Montgomery, General Richard: 11, 68
Montreal: McLoughlin children in, 19, 43; fall of, 68; schools in, 107, 132, 172; young John leaves, 119; banking house in, 156, 166, 172-73, 183, 205; student disturbance in, 191; politics in, 202; young John in, 209; confectioner of, 211; Prothonotary's Office, 294; 20, 61, 79, 98, 144, 150-52, 158, 167-70, 176, 184, 192, 196, 202, 205, 207
Moorhead, Lady John: 65
Morrison, Alan: 174, 240
Morrison, Josepha: 174
Morrison, William: 174, 240
Mortgages: 289-90
Mosquitoes: 245
Moss, Sidney Walter: 135, 137
Mossy Point: 122
Mount Fairweather: 243
Mount Herman cemetery: 71-72
Mount Murray, seigniory of: map, 14; location, 15, 29, 50; manor house of, 15, 63, 65 (illus.), 322-23; McLough-

lin children at, 29, 61; succession to, 31; family at, 32; described, 57-58; seigniors of, 16, 57, 62; as refuge for animals, 57-58; tenant farmers of, 57-58; corner stone of manor house, 65; social life at, 67; in war time, 69; as bequest, 70, 286-94; Dr. Fraser born at, 72; 60-61
Munro, Dr. Henry: physician at Kaministikwia, 34, 144; salary of, 147-49, 155
Murray, Gen. James: 57-58, 158
Murray Bay: *see* Malbaie
Murray Bay, seigniory of: map, 14; location of, 15; Dr. John's childhood at, 29; description of, 57; fire signals to, 67-68; social life at, 67; in war time, 69; boat from, 163; 32, 152, 157-58
Murray River: *see* Malbaie River
Murder: of young John, 248-51
Myrick, Winifred G: 320

NAIRNE, Christianna Emmery: 65, 322
Nairne, Christine: 335, 337, 339, 342
Nairne, John: as seignior, 57-60, 157; finances of, 58; sawmills of, 60; manor house of, 60; military activity of, 67-69; association with Malcolm Fraser, 68, 157; death of children, 68; wife, 70, 322; daughter, 322; 158
Nairne, Mary: 335, 337, 339, 342
Nairne, Polly: 335
Nairne, Thomas: military activity of, 68-69; advised by Fraser, 68-69; death, 69; executor of Fraser's will, 71, 293; sketch of, 158; discussed in Ker-Fraser letters, 335-39, 342-45; Ker's opinions on, 339-41; Fraser's opinions on, 335-38, 342-45
Napoleon: army of, 85
Napoleonic Wars: 87, 194, 336
Neagle, Mr: 109, 183
Neuilly, France: 92
New Caledonia: 327
New World, the: 181
New York: 201
New York City: 320
Newfoundland: 129
Newfoundland Fencibles: 338, 341
Neysmith, John L: 215
Nive: battle of, 85
Nivelle: battle of, 85
Noire River: 57, 236, 287
North West Company: Alexander Fraser and Dr. John as employees of, 29; Dr. John joins, 31, 34; Alexander Fraser partner in, 31, 61; McGillivray as partner, 34, 149; posts of, 34-35; apprenticeship with, 34-36, 73, 147-50, 155, 159; Dr. John as partner in, 39-40, 160; srtuggle with competitor, 40, 168; accounts of Dr. John, 43, 83; Dr. John represents in London, 42-43; merger with H.B. Co., 43, 86; financial agents of, 43; coalition. 148, 154; "New" company, 148, 174; Alexander leaves, 153; wages as surgeon, 154-55, 160; Dr. John's conflict with, 154-55; young Alexander apprenticed to, 162; Sault St. Marie as post of, 221; seal of, 316; employs Harmon, 327; 33-34, 61, 143-45, 151, 161-66, 168-69, 173-75, 201
Northumberland, county of: 286
Norway House: 122, 133, 175, 228; burned, 235; described, 239
Notary public: 130-131, 279, 283, 286, 289, 296, 298-301
Notre Dame, Sisters of: 51
Nute, Grace Lee: 119

OAKES, Jemima: *see* Jemima Ermatinger
Ogden, Peter Skene: 321
Ogilvy, John: 154
Oregon: H.B. Co. in, 16; trees, weather in, 44; government organized, 135, 331; pioneers of, 137, 330-31; Amer.-Brit. contest for, 245-47, 331-32; land for University, 330, 332; land laws, 330; delegate from, 330; courts of, 330-31
Oregon City: home of Dr. John, 49; Catholics at, 51-52; Eloisa in, 127; pioneers, 135; survey of, 135; mills at, 252; church in, 320; land claim of Dr. John, 330-33; 20, 25, 136; *see also* McLoughlin Meml. Assn.

Oregon City Woolen Manufacturing Company: 127
Oregon Historical Society: 23, 135
Oregon Historical Quarterly: 21, 329
Oregon Land Bill: 332
Oregon Pioneer Association: 135
Orthez, Spain: 85
Ottawa, Canada: 220; Public Archives, 279
Oxen: 236

PACIFIC FUR COMPANY: 145, 175
Pacific ocean: 23, 162
Panet, Louis: 298-99
Paradis, Joseph: 286
Paris: Dr. David's medical practice in, 22, 46; Dr. John in, 47; Dr. David in, 92; riots in, 113, 194-95; gay life in, 114; young David in, 132; young John in, 193; 182, 191-93, 204
Parker, Samuel: 244
Parker, Gerrard, and Ogilvy: 154
Parrish, Philip H: 321
"Peacock" (steamer): 247
Peacock Spit: 247
Pelletier, Abbé Edouard: 25
Pelletier, J.F: 117; letter from, 215; letter to, 216
Penchaud, Aquar: 162
Peninsular War: 85-86
Pensions: 281-82, 285, 292
Pepper: 282, 285
Physics: 113, 197
Physiology: 113, 197
Picard, Rev: 162
Pigeon, Mr: 188
Pigeon River: 151
Plante, Lady Julie: 65, 322
Plunkett, Mrs: teacher, 43, 171
Pointe a Gase: 286-88, 292
Point Fraser: 62, 286-88, 292
Politics: 202
Politics of France: 19, 22, 50, 89-92, 94, 113, 194-95
Polk, Pres. James: 331
Pollard, Lancaster: 11
Pont de Brigne: 85
Popes: Gregory XVI, 318; Pius XI, 320
Pork: 282, 285
Porthill, Idaho: 135-40, 317
Portland, Oregon: 135
Portland Canal: 243
Portugal: 84, 129; Dr. David in, 162
Poulin, Father: 51-52
Powers, Alfred: 11
Pratt, Orville C: 331-32
Presbyterian: 95, 244
Prevost, Mrs. Alice Fraser: acknowledgment, 11; family of, 20-21; 75
Prevost, D: 196, 202, 217
Prevost, Sir George: 346
Primeau, Lady Widow: 65
Prince of Wales: 181
Protestant Episcopal Church: 79
Public Archives of Canada: 220
Public Records Office, London: 82, 129
Pugets Sound Agricultural Co: 243
Pyrenees, battle of: 85

QUEBEC: road to, 15; Ursulines in, 16, 51, 96-105; convent in, 20; vicar of, 26; baptism at, 26; schooling at, 26, 33; Dr. Fisher, of, 33; battles of, 57, 67-68; Literary and Hist. Soc. of, 57; merchant of, 71; cemetery, 71; surgeon of, 82; *Gazette,* 100; Ursuline monastery, illus., 102; Eliza in, 128; Palais de Justice, 286, 296; Malcolm Fraser's property in, 289-91; mentioned, 20, 22-23, 50, 59, 62, 101, 127, 145, 150-52, 157-58, 162-63, 167-69, 197, 210

RABBITS: 241
Raby, Germain: 217, 295
Rae, Louisa: 255, 257
Rae, Maggie G: 299
Rae, William Glen: at Fort Stikine, 48, 122; to San Francisco, 48, 249; suicide of, 49, 127; marries Eloisa McLoughlin, 127; goes to Fort Stikine, 245
Rainy Lake: 159, 166
Rainy River: 166
Rebellion of 1837-38: 242
Red Lake: 240
Red River settlement: Dickson's expedition to, 19, 40, 47, 119, 121, 166-68, 228-29, 240-241

Red River Valley: 168

Reeve, John Fraser: sells seigniory, 62, 323

Reeve, Thomas J: marries Mary Fraser, 62; children of, 62; 323

Reid, John: 293

Religion: customs of seigniors, 58; ceremony, 98; taught by missionaries, 244; of burial rites, 294; *see also* Catholic, Presbyterian

Rents: of land, 58; payment of, 59; as bequest, 70; for farms, 256, 277-78; 284, 287, 288, 297

Rich, Edwin Ernest: 16, 48, 86

Riches, Wilmot: 306

Ried, John: 151

Riverin, Antoine: 293

Rivière-du-Loup, seigniory of: map, 14; location of, 15, 67; purchase of, 20, 61, 69; seigniors of, 20; sale of farms at, 20, 24; birthplace of Dr. John, 23; Mary Short dies at, 23; farms at, 23-24, 129-31, 163, 254-57, 283-86, 296-97, 311-13; Grandfather John at, 23; birthplace of Dr. John, 23; first chapel at, 24; land lease at, 26, 277-78; church records of, 26; illus. of, 27; farm life at, 29; McLoughlins at, 29-31, 39-41, 165; Frasers at, 42; House of Justice at, 279; Dr. David born at, 81; portrait at manor house of, 75; Marie Louise born at, 95; family health at, 165; mills at, 165; Dr. John requests news from, 167; crop failure at, 167-68; young John in, 212, 214, 217; David Michaud at, 213; land in, 217; map of farms at, 309; farmers of, 286; land mortgaged, 301; as resort, 323; 18, 22, 31, 60, 67, 118, 147, 152, 158, 161, 171, 174-75, 189

Roads: labor on, 58-59; 278; *see also* Transportation

Robertson, Colin: 86, 175

Robins, Mr: 307

Rocky Mountains: 23, 175; boundary of H.B. Co. area, 232

Rogerson, Sarah: 139-40

Rowand, John: 194

Roy, Antoine: 71

Royal College of Physicians: 94

Royal Highland Emigrants: 67

Royal Highland Regiment: 72

Royal Military College: 226

Rubis, Mr. and Mrs: 241

Russian American Co: 243

Russian settlements: 23, 124; young John at, 48, 122; Ft. Stikine in, 245-51

SAIDON, Basil: marries Margerite McLoughlin, 39, 164

St. Anne de la Pocatiere: 24

St. Anns: 151

St. Aubin, Z. de: 301

St. Borgia: *see* Josephine Michaud

St. Cecile: *see* Emilie Dechène

St. Charles: 242

St. Denis: 242

St. Etienne: 286

St. Eustache: 242

St. François de Borgia: *see* Josephine Michaud

St. Henry, Sister: *see* Marie Louise McLoughlin

St. Hermas Parish: 295

St. Laurent: 174

St. Lawrence River: map, 14; as center of family domain, 22; lands on, 15, 22, 72, 128, 175; seigniories on, 57, 67; 15, 22-24, 29, 31, 150, 173, 277

St. Louis River: 240

St. Margaret: 100

St. Mary's River: 221

St. Matthews burying ground: 71

St. Maurice River: 150

St. Patrice: chapel of, 24; parish of, 279-80, 283, 296, 300

St. Thomas d'Aquin, Sister: sketch of her ancestors, 25; as writer, 30; description of Angélique McLoughlin, 98; 16

Salem, Oregon: 327

Salmon: 329

San Francisco: Rae at, 123, 249; boundary of H.B. Co. area, 232

Sanaudiere, Farrer: 162

Sandy Hill: 294

Sandy Lake: 240

Santa Fe: 119, 229, 236

Sault St. Marie: canoe accident, 40; young John's letter from, 120; described, 220; Dickson's army at, 230; 120, 182, 238

Sauvageau, Mr: 289

Sauvies Island: 329

Savanna River: 240

Savard, François: 287

Savory, Joseph and Albert: 320

Sawmills: of Malcolm Fraser, 60, 288; as bequest, 70; improvement of, 165; in Oregon, 252, 329

Schools: *see* Education

Scotland: University of Edinburgh, 18-19; Beaufort Castle, 54-56; Inverness, Provost of, 54; Fraser clan in, 55-56; Lovat Estates in, 55; Inverness-shire, 55; Fraser estate in, 293

Sea otter: 166

Sealing wax: 211

Seigniories: requirements of, 58-59; customs of, 58-59; land rents on, 58; barter on, 58; liquor of, 58; labor on, 58-59; roads on, 58-59; land sales on, 59; as bequest, 286-94; mortgages on, 289-91; land in, 296-97; rights of, 297; *see also* Islette, Lauzon, Mount Murray, Murray Bay, Kamouraska, Rivière-du-Loup

Seigniors: customs of, 58-59; liquor of, 58

Seine River: 22

Selkirk, Lord: 40, 168

Sellers, Rev: 162

Semple, Governor Robert: 40, 168

Seven Oaks, battle of: 40, 168

Seven Years' War: 57

Sheriff: 236

Short, John: land for chapel, 24

Short, Mary: *see* Mary S. McLoughlin

Sickness: 230

Sillery, Canada: 71-72

Silver plate: 320-21

Simard, Alexis Ange: 287

Simpson, Frances Ramsay: 201

Simpson, Geddes Mackenzie: 201

Simpson, Gov. George: apprentices David, 19; interest in McLoughlin family, 45-46, 97, 109-10, 112, 181-82; aids education, 45-46, 181-82; at Ft. Stikine, 48; informs Dr. John of son's murder, 48; aids Dr. John, 108; employs young John, 110, 121-22, 241; account of John's murder, 123, 125; character traits of, 124; sketch of, 181; letters to, 90, 181, 184; letters from, 181, 185-86; disappointed in young John, 187; in London, 201; "defeats" Dickson, 229; young John complains to, 234; letter, illus., 263; in Honolulu, 247; transfers young John's assistant, 248; reports on John's murder, 248-51; 37, 45, 47, 122, 177, 188-89, 201

Sitka: 124, 251

Slavery: 345

Smith, Anne: *see* Anne S. Fraser

Smith, Asa B: 244

Smith, Helen: 139

Smith, Jedediah: 321

Smith, Ney: 208

Snow: 241

Snow shoes: 335

Société de Statistique Universelle: 94

South West Company: 174

Sovey, Marie Magdelaine: 23

Spain: 85

Spalding, Henry Harmon: 244

Spanish army: 119

Spurlock, Dr. Clark P: 11

Stephenson, Dr. Wendell H: 11

Stewart, John: 339-40

Storr, Paul: 320

Stuart, Alexander H.H. (Secy. of Inter.): letter to, 330-33

Stuart, David: 166

Stuart, John: 316

Stuart, Peter: 166

Sturgeon Lake: post of N.W. Co., 34

Sugerman, Smith: 151

Sullivan, Angeline (McLoughlin): 136

Sullivan, Catherine Annie: 136

Sullivan, Cornelius: 136

Sullivan, Daniel: 136

Sullivan, Edward: 136
Sullivan, Terrance: 136
Sullovan, Mrs: 306-08
Surgery: 72, 84, 155; *also see* Medicine

TAFT, Pres. Wm. H., and Robert A: 323
Talbot, Mother Marie: 100
Talbot, Simon: marries Marguerite McLoughlin, 165, 312; as legatee, 305-06
Tannau, François: 277
Tarbes, battle of: 85
Tascherau, Judge Jean Thomas: 189
Taxes: 284
Taylor, Thomas: 135
Tea: 282, 285
Terrebonne, Canada: home of Dr. Simon Fraser, 20, 33, 40, 61, 115, 294; young John at, 78, 219; schooling in, 108; described, 132, 246; seigniory of, 144, 147; mentioned, 135, 144, 151-52, 154, 157, 159, 161, 164, 166-67, 170-73, 179, 181, 183-84, 192, 200, 202
Texas: 227, 229
Thain, Thomas: agent, H.B. Co., 45; letter to, 173; biography of, 173; as Dr. John's agent, 176-77; 108, 225
Three Rivers, Quebec: Ursuline nuns in, 51; described, 150
Thurston, Samuel R: 330, 332
Timber: 252
Tobacco: 285
Toronto, Canada: 238
Torrance, J: 79
Toulouse, battle of: 85
Transportation: roads, 29; river, 30; boat, 163; by dogs, 240; on snow shoes, 335
Treaty of Ghent: 154
Treason: 69
Trees: size of, 44; 144, 176
Trinidad, Washington: 136
Trudeau, Mme: 208, 221-22, 225
Trudeau, John H: 116, 205, 208-09; letters from, 207, 210
Trudeau, Joseph: 208
Trudell, M: 162
Tuileries: 92, 200
"Tyger" (ship): 340, 344

U.S. ENGINEERS: at Lac la Pluie, 44
Ursulines: in Quebec, Sister St. Henry as Mother Superior, 16; history of, 32; Marie Elisabeth with, 44-45, 180; education by, 44-45, 180; chronicle of, 96; monastery of, illus., 102-103; monastery as retreat. 215; 16, 22, 50-51, 81, 96-105, 127, 170, 178, 181-82, 188

VAUGHAN, Thomas: 11
Vercheres, county of: 296
Vermilion Lake: post of N.W. Co., 34; Dr. John winters at, 38, 156; described, 159
Vermilion River: 159
Vidal, J. (priest): 26
Villiers, France: 92
Vincent, Benjamin: 308

WADIN, Jean Etienne: 174, 220
Wages: in fur trade, 34; as clerk, 34; in medical practice, 34-35; in H.B. Co., 234; of John Fraser, 237
Walker, Elkanah: 244
Walker, Mr: schoolmaster, 108, 173, 219
Wallace, William: 55
Wallace: William Stewart: 57, 128
War of 1812: 69, 160, 344-45
Watch: 317; watchmakers, 317
Waterloo, New York: 236, 238
Weather: at Rivière-du-Loup, 29-30; in Oregon, 44; storm on Lake Huron, 120; ice and snow, 121; records, 140; at Lac la Pluie, 173; at Ft. George, 176; on Great Lakes, 228-40; at Lake Superior, 230, 240; in Rocky Mts., 241; at Ft. Vancouver, 247, 252
Webster, Mr: 183
Wellington, Duke of: 85, 87, 179
West Indies: medical practice in, 35; ice sent to, 329; 129
Wheat: 282, 285
White Horse Plains: 169, 229
Whitman, Marcus: 244
Whitworth, Sir Charles: 87
Wilkes, Lt. Charles: 247
Wilkinson, General James: 69

Willamette Milling Co: 331-32
Willamette River: 252; valley of, 327-29
Winnipeg: 40
Wolfe, Gen. James: 57, 67, 145, 158; biography of, 163; death, 163
Wood: petrified, 144
Work, John: 248
Wrong, Geo. M: 14, 55, 59
Württemberg, Princess of: 92
Wyeth, Nathaniel J: 321; sketch of, 329
Wyndel, British Columbia: 139

XY COMPANY: 148, 154, 174

YERBA BUENA: 49-50, 249
York Factory: 44, 133
Young, Sir William: 133